BROADCASTING

AND

CANADA'S ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

A Report to the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy

J. Mark Stiles & Associates
Communications & Management
Consultants

BROADCASTING

AND

CANADA'S ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

Prepared for: The Task Force on Broadcasting Policy

Prepared by: J. Mark Stiles
Ottawa
November, 1985

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY 2

3. CANADA'S ABORIGINAL PEOPLES: AN OVERVIEW 5

4. RATIONALE FOR FEDERAL POLICY RESPECTING NATIVE BROADCASTING 8
- 4.1 Special Status 8
- 4.2 Language Rights 9
- 4.3 Socio-Economic Rationale 11
- 4.4 International Implications 12

5. BROADCASTING FOR AND BY THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLES OF CANADA: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND 14
- 5.1 High Frequency Radio 14
- 5.2 CBC Shortwave Services 14
- 5.3 Native Community Radio and Television 15
- 5.4 Northern Pilot Project 16
- 5.5 The Hermes Experiments 17
- 5.6 The Introduction of Satellite Television in the Far North 18
- 5.7 The Anik B Experiments: The Beginning of an Inuit Television Service 19
- 5.8 The Therrien Committee 20
- 5.9 Licensing of Native Broadcasters and Cancom 22

6. NATIVE BROADCASTING TODAY 24
- 6.1 The Northern Broadcasting Policy (1983) 24
- 6.2 The Northern Native Broadcast Access Program: Background 26
  - 6.2.1 NNBAP Funding Eligibility 27
  - 6.2.2 NNBAP Administration 29
  - 6.2.3 NNBAP Current Operations Review 30
  - 6.2.4 NNBAP Radio and Television Programming 30
  - 6.2.5 NNBAP Distribution 32
  - 6.2.6 NNBAP Impact 34
  - 6.2.7 NNBAP Budget Projections 34
- 6.3 Other Related Federal Programs and Initiatives 35
- 6.4 The CBC: Native Programming, Native Access 36
  - 6.4.1 CBC Northern Service 36
  - 6.4.2 CBC National Network 38
  - 6.4.3 Community and Regional Access to the CBC 38
  - 6.4.4 CBC Policy on Native Regional Access 38
  - 6.4.5 Other Forms of CBC Support 39
- 6.5 Provincial Broadcasters: Native Programming, Native Access 40
- 6.6 Private Broadcasters: Native Programming, Native Access 41
- 6.7 CRTC's Northern Native Broadcasting Committee 42
- 6.8 Broadcasting by Native People in the South 43

7. PROPOSED MEGA-PROJECTS 45
7.1 CBC's Northern Regional Broadcast Plan 45
7.2 The Seneca Proposal 47

8. ABORIGINAL PEOPLES AND THE CHANGING BROADCASTING ENVIRONMENT 48

9. ISSUES AND POLICY PERSPECTIVES 49
9.1 Native-Language Broadcasting Legislation 49
9.2 The Distribution of Native Programming 51
9.3 Extension of Services to Rural and Remote Native Communities 55
9.4 Broadcasting For and By Native Peoples in the South 57
9.5 Roles and Responsibilities in the Provision of Native Broadcasting Services 59
9.6 Increased Resources 61
9.7 A Native Voice in Broadcasting Decision Making 62
9.8 Television and Native Youth 63

10. CONCLUDING REMARKS 66

11. NOTES 67

12. APPENDICES
Appendix A: Canada's Indigenous Languages by Community 73
Appendix B: Native Broadcasting Societies: Regional Distribution Profiles 76
Appendix C: Statements Supporting Native Broadcasting in Canada 94

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report was prepared under contract to the Task Force on Boadcasting Policy. I wish to thank Task Force staff members Pierre Trudel and Tim Creery who directed this research. I would like to thank Alex MacGregor and his staff at the Native Citizens Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State, for providing me with advice and vast quantities of background information during the course of this assignment. I would also like to express my gratitude to Gwen Andrews of the Department of Communications for her valuable insights, and to Charles Feaver, Senior Policy Advisor with the Government of Manitoba. I am indebted to the many individuals I consulted over the past two months — native broadcasters, CRTC staff, CBC representatives and other researchers — too many to mention by name. Special thanks to my colleagues William Litwack and Neale MacMillan for their editorial assistance, and to Nortext for information design and word processing.

J. Mark Stiles

1. INTRODUCTION

> We might liken the onslaught of southern television, and the absence of native television, to the neutron bomb. This is the bomb that kills the people but leaves the building standing. Neutron-bomb television is the kind of television that destroys the soul of a people but leaves the shell of a people walking around. This is television in which the traditions, the skills, the culture, the language, count for nothing. The pressure, especially on our children, to join the invading culture and language and leave behind the language and culture that count for nothing is explosively powerful.
>
> Rosemarie Kuptana
> CRTC Hearing
> December 1, 1982

The neutron bomb serves as a graphic metaphor to underscore broadcasting's potential to destroy the languages and cultures of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada. However, broadcasting can also be a powerful tool in aiding the development of native identity. There are encouraging signs that this is beginning to happen in parts of Canada's North where more than a dozen native broadcasting groups are now providing their regions with alternatives to mass-audience radio and television from the South.

This paper describes the events that have shaped this development, and provides an overview of current native broadcasting activity. It examines existing policies and new options in light of the most critical issues confronting native broadcasting today.

2. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Canada's Aboriginal Peoples, who number more than 500,000, have made impressive gains over the past decade towards recognition of their special rights, now enshrined in the Canadian Constitution. Native people are striving for greater self-determination, in a cultural, as well as in a political and economic sense. One of the few remaining areas where they have yet to gain a significant degree of influence and control is in the field of communications.

In the 1970s, native people in the northern and mid-northern regions of Canada experienced an influx of English and French-language television programming with the introduction of broadcasting services via satellite. In 1983, the Government of Canada responded to concerns that the importation of broadcasting services into the North would result in severe damage to native cultures and languages, by establishing a Northern Broadcasting Policy. The policy provided resources for native producers across the North to create radio and television programming, and ensured that they would have access to existing broadcasting distribution systems for regional coverage.

Thirteen native communications societies serving the Yukon and Northwest Territories, and the northern regions of seven provinces are now at various stages of developrnent in producing and distributing native-language radio and television programming on a regional basis. Since the majority of the northern native broadcasters are in their first year of production, the overall volume of programming is still relatively low, consisting of a combined total of less than 10 hours per week of television and about 200 hours per week of radio.

Presently, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) provides limited amounts of regional broadcast air-time for 10 of the 13 northern native broadcasting groups, as well as access to local CBC transmitters for community radio programming in some locations. Two of the remaining northern native broadcasting societies have regional distribution agreements with Cancom, and one society distributes its programming by means of a TVOntario audio sub-carrier. Although all 13 northern native broadcasters have found some means, however imperfect, of distributing their present levels of programming, distribution remains the most challenging and problematic issue of their future.

The only mainstream broadcaster to produce and distribute significant levels of native-language and native-oriented programming is the CBC. In the Northwest Territories and northern Quebec, the CBC Northern Service provides radio programming tailored to the needs of all northerners, including the native

majority. However, unlike radio, CBC's television service in the North consists almost entirely of programming produced in southern urban centres of Canada and the United States.

Although the majority of Canada's aboriginal people live in the South, they receive little in the way of federal support for broadcasting, and are generally not well served by mainstream broadcasters. It is in the southern regions of Canada that native languages are least likely to survive.

This paper outlines these and other major issues central to the future of native broadcasting in Canada. It suggests that the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy acknowledge the significant progress that has been made in the field of northern native broadcasting under existing policies and programs, and consider recommendations that would:

1. **raise the status of Canada's indigenous languages in the *Broadcasting Act*, and give the CBC a clearer mandate with respect to native-language broadcasting services;**

2. **give independent native producers and broadcasters an integral role in the national public broadcasting system;**

3. **provide incentives for broadcasters to carry independently produced native television and radio programming on their distribution systems;**

4. **strengthen the native voice in broadcasting policy and regulatory matters;**

5. **increase support for native broadcasting in the South following a research and consultation process to determine the most appropriate form the support should take;**

6. **give priority to independent native producers and broadcasters for the production of programming destined for native audiences, and programming that reflects native people to other Canadians;**

7. **increase support for native broadcasting where present programs fall short through a variety of means;**

8. allow predominantly native communities, especially Indian reserves, access to local transmitters for the purpose of limiting or substituting programming;

9. extend CBC's Accelerated Coverage Plan, including the provision of community radio packages to all predominantly native communities that request service, regardless of size; and

10. stimulate the production and distribution of quality television programming by native producers aimed at native youth.

3. CANADA'S ABORIGINAL PEOPLES: AN OVERVIEW

The aboriginal people of Canada are divided into four groups — status Indians, non-status Indians, Metis, and Inuit. Status Indians, who number about 320,000[1] and who are members of the 575 registered Indian bands in Canada, are legally entitled to the benefits of programs under the *Indian Act*.[2] Inuit, who number approximately 25,000, and who reside mainly in the coastal regions of the Northwest Territories, Arctic Quebec and Labrador, have the same relationships to the federal government as status Indians.

Non-status Indians, who numbered 64,500 in 1981, include those who claim to be of native ancestry but who are not legally recognized under the terms of the *Indian Act*. The Metis, people of mixed white (usually French) and Indian ancestry, fall under the same legislative and policy grouping as non-status Indians. This means, for example, that their education and health care is under provincial rather than federal jurisdiction. In 1981, the Metis numbered about 90,000 according to the Canada Census. However, organizations like the Native Council of Canada, claim that the true non-status Indian and Metis population exceeds 500,000, the figure used by Statistics Canada for the entire aboriginal population. According to Census Canada data, at a half million people, native Canadians represent about 2.1 percent of the entire population.

Despite disagreement over the precise number of native Canadians, it is clear the aboriginal population is growing. On average, Indian census families are 25 percent larger than all other census families in Canada. Inuit form one of the fastest growing minorities in the world as a result of an annual live birthrate of 32.1 per thousand, compared to the Canadian average of 15.3.[3]

As a result of relatively high birthrates and declining infant mortality, the aboriginal population is young. In some regions, 50 percent of natives are under the age of 20, and less than 20 percent are over the age of 45.[4] This phenomenon is of particular significance to aboriginal broadcasters.

Although more persons of aboriginal background live in Ontario than in any other province (110,545), followed by British Columbia (85,210), the prairie provinces have a higher proportion of native people. Table 1 outlines the proportion of aboriginal people relative to the total population in each province and territory. In the western provinces, the native population represents a more significant proportion of the total population than in the eastern provinces. The Northwest Territories has the greatest number of native people relative to the total population. Its 26,500 natives represent 58 percent of the Territories'

residents. The Yukon follows with an Indian population of 4,145, representing about 18 percent of the total population.

Table 1: Registered Indian, Other Native and Total Native Populations as a Percentage of Total Canadian Provincial/Territorial Populations, 1981

	Population		
Province/ Territority	Registered Indians as a Percentage of Total	Other Natives as a Percentage of Total	Total Natives as a Percentage of Total
Nova Scotia and Newfoundland	0.5	0.4	0.9
New Brunswick and P.E.I.	0.6	0.2	0.8
Quebec	0.6	0.2	0.8
Ontario	0.9	0.4	1.3
Manitoba	4.3	2.4	6.6
Saskatchewan	4.2	2.1	6.3
Alberta	1.8	1.5	3.3
British Columbia	2.2	0.9	3.1
Yukon	13.2	4.8	18.0
NWT	16.2	42.0	58.2
Canada	1.3	0.7	2.1

Source: Canada. 1981 Census Highlights on Registered Indians: Annotated Tables. Ottawa, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1985, page 7.

In all provinces, except Manitoba, the registered Indian population is larger in the southern half of the province than in the North. However, 67 percent of registered Indians live in rural communities. In contrast, only 24 percent of the overall Canadian population live in rural areas. The three Census

Metropolitan Areas having the largest off-reserve registered Indian populations are Winnipeg (8,185), Vancouver (7,480) and Toronto (6,645). However, the three Census Metropolitan Areas whose off-reserve registered Indian population forms the highest proportion of their total population are Regina (2.5 percent), Saskatoon (1.5 percent) and Winnipeg (1.4 percent).

In general terms, with the exception of government centres and most mining and logging towns, the proportion of native people relative to the non-native population is likely to be higher the further north and the smaller and more isolated the community.

A common misconception is that aboriginal Canadians form a homogeneous cultural group. In fact, native Canadians derive from many different cultures. For example, there are 53 native languages spoken in Canada today. These languages fall into 11 distinct family groupings, as illustrated in Appendix A: Canada's Indigenous Languages by Community. As aboriginal cultures vary from one region to the next, so too do the needs and aspirations of native people vary. Federal aboriginal programs and policies, therefore, must be flexible in order to accommodate regional diversity.

In recent years, indigenous peoples have given new expression to their distinctive origins. Names have assumed a special significance. Inuit have asked that they be called what they call themselves — *Inuit* — meaning, *The People*. Since the Indians of Canada do not have a comon indigenous language like the Inuit, they have chosen an English term to describe themselves — the word 'nation' — a term with historical and political significance. Together, Indians refer to themselves as 'First Nations', meaning groups of people with similar languages, cultures and histories who identify with each other as members of a common political entity.

4. RATIONALE FOR FEDERAL POLICY RESPECTING NATIVE BROADCASTING

4.1 Special Status

> In the formulation of principles for cultural policy in general, and with special regard to cultural diversity in particular, it is important that no one group have privileges, priority or precedence over others. We have come to believe, however, that a special place in cultural policy should be reserved for peoples of Indian and Inuit ancestry.[5]
>
> L. Applebaum, J. Hébert et al. 1982

There are many reasons why special policies and provisions should be made for Canada's Aboriginal Peoples. Indians and Inuit are indigenous to Canada. Canada is their homeland. Unlike ethnic minorities who immigrated to Canada from afar, the cultural traditions of native people are uniquely rooted in this country. Unlike immigrants, aboriginal Canadians have no other homeland in which to protect and enhance their languages, cultures and traditions.

Native leaders insist that federal policies reflect this fundamental distinction. They point to their special status in laws, custom and treaties, and urge the federal govenment not to cloak indigenous Canadians in the same policies governing ethnic groups.

The special rights of aboriginal Canadians are now enshrined in the Canadian Constitution. While these rights have yet to be defined, they are likely to include the right to a form of self-government within the Canadian federation and certain guarantees for the protection and enhancement of language, culture and identity. Despite the fact that a consensus on native self-government could not be reached at the last First Ministers Conference in 1984, in recent years Indian and Inuit groups have made impressive gains toward greater self-determination. In many parts of Canada, Indians and Inuit have varying degrees of local and regional control over such matters as education, child welfare and health care. One of the few remaining areas where native people have yet to gain a significant degree of influence and control is in the field of communications.

Applebaum and Hébert suggest that the most important reason for giving native Canadians recognition and special provisions in federal cultural policy is that their cultural traditions have a set of values and aesthetic standards "not easily accommodated within the usual structures and practices of federal cultural

institutions."[6] This bears true in the field of broadcasting. Only in the Northern Service of the CBC (and then only in its radio division) is there significant native programming and staff representation.[7]

4.2 Language Rights

Many native leaders contend that the strongest rationale for federal policy concerning native broadcasting stems from a need to protect and strengthen the use of aboriginal languages. In their presentation to the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, the Inuvialuit Communications Society stated:

> Language is the heart of a culture, and the keeper of a people's heritage, but our language is in serious trouble.... When English is the predominant language in more than four out of five homes, it is imperative to offer young people opportunities to hear and use Inuvialuktun, and to emphasize its worth.[8]

The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation emphasized the same point:

> Inuit regard the retention of their language, Inuktitut, as critical to their survival as distinct people.... In surrendering its language, a society surrenders its capacity to plan for and control its own development. To be masters in their own homeland, Inuit must not surrender their right to communicate in Inuktitut.[9]

In their brief to the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon pointed to the relationship between language use and socio-economic development:

> Many northerners still speak their native languages and for those people whose first language is not English, they find much of the public affairs and news programming available from the mass media, unintelligible. Yet the events and the decisions portrayed in such programming demand the participation of these same people, if they are to be successful contributors to the socio-economic development of their homelands.[10]

However, the indigenous languages of Canada are endangered. Ethnologist Michael Foster estimates that only three of the 53 aboriginal languages spoken in Canada have an excellent chance of survival; 13 are moderately endangered; and eight are on the verge of extinction.[11] Foster calculates that indigenous

languages are spoken in the home by only one-fifth of the aboriginal population of Canada; 154,000 people, plus thousands of others in the United States and Greenland.[12] Native leaders point to the proliferation of English mass media, especially television, as a major factor contributing to the general decline in the use of indigenous languages. Their analysis is supported by recent audience surveys, and by a number of academic studies.[13]

Based on 1981 Census of Canada data, a report entitled "Changes in Language Use Among Native Peoples of Canada," concludes as follows:

- The English language is rapidly replacing aboriginal languages in all provinces of Canada, including Quebec;
- Loss of aboriginal language is more likely to occur among young adults;
- The decline of indigenous language use is most prevalent in the southern, less remote areas of the country;
- Aboriginal languages with the strongest institutional support are the most likely to be retained, although the size of the linguistic community is at least as important.[14]

Despite discouraging statistics, native people in many parts of Canada are determined to reverse the trend through broadcasting and other measures. There have been signs of indigenous cultural and linguistic rejuvenation with increasing institutional support in recent years.

As native people assume more control over education, their schools now place stronger emphasis on indigenous languages and cultural development. This movement has the support of the federal government. Most authorities now recognize that the key to the survival of native people in the larger Canadian society resides in the adoption of a pluralistic philosophy that promotes strong aboriginal identity. Moreover, governments are now more cognizant of the fact that if native languages and cultures are lost, with them will be gone the special cultural heritage of Canada.[15]

4.3 Socio-Economic Rationale

Special policies and provisions for aboriginal broadcasting can also be rationalized on the basis of need within the broader framework of Canadian social and economic policy. As representatives of the Indian and Inuit Support Group of Newfoundland and Labrador stated to Task Force members in St. John's, the conditions under which most native Canadians live are "a national disgrace."[16] Consider the following statistics:

> **Income:** The average income of Indian people is one-half to two-thirds the national average.
>
> **Unemployment**: The unemployment rate among Indian people is about 35 percent of the working age population; in some areas it is as high as 90 percent.
>
> **Education**: Only 20 percent of Indian children stay in school to the end of the secondary level; the comparable national rate is 75 percent.
>
> **Housing**: Almost 19 percent of on-reserve homes have two or more families living in them; these conditions affect 40 percent of all status Indian families.
>
> **Incarceration**: Native people are over-represented in proportion to their population in federal and provincial penitentiaries. In Manitoba, Saskatchewan and the North, Native people represent more than 40 percent of the prison population.
>
> **Violent Death**: The overall rate of violent deaths among Indian people is more than three times the national average.
>
> **Suicide**: Indian deaths due to suicide are almost three times the national rate; suicide is especially prevalent among Indians aged 15 to 24.[17]

Federal assistance to aboriginal broadcasters makes a significant contribution to the northern native economy, especially in some of the poorest regions of the country like Labrador. There, where unemployment rates are consistently around 75 percent; where the average annual income is less than $8,000; and where a barrel of heating oil costs $100 and lasts only four or five days in poorly insulated houses,[18] a federal program assisting Inuit broadcasters has resulted in at least 20 new jobs,[19] and likely as many jobs in indirect employment areas, such as transportation and housing.

It can also be argued that support for aboriginal broadcasting may result in many significant, though intangible social and economic benefits; among them, the following:

- decreased isolation and greater awareness of employment and business opportunities;
- the development of portable skills as a result of radio and television training, and increased job mobility;
- increased demand for services in aboriginal languages creating more employment opportunities for native-language speakers;
- increased participation by aboriginal peoples in local, regional and national affairs as a result of improved information dissemination;
- increased pride in aboriginal identity with the prominent display of native language and culture in such media as television, where native people have not been well represented in the past;
- a decrease in social problems such as alcoholism, resulting from improved communication, including culturally sensitive information about public and non-governmental programs and service;
- increased awareness, understanding and respect for Canada's Indians and Inuit as a result of improved coverage in mainstream broadcast media.

4.4 International Implications

Native broadcasting is more advanced in Canada than in any other country in the world, and it is attracting international attention. For example, Australia, which is in the formative stages of developing broadcasting and communications services for Aborigines, has found much to emulate in the Canadian experience. Australia's Task Force on Aboriginal and Islander Broadcasting and Communications recently reported:

> Australia is now at a stage where it can benefit from the Canadian experience in a way that will not only provide models for the delivery of broadcasting and telecommunication services to remote Australia and in

> particular to Aboriginals, but which will enhance Australian broadcasting generally.
>
> Any observer of the Canadian scene cannot be but impressed by the broadcasting developments that have taken place there and the way they have helped overcome the isolation of the north, an isolation deeper than in Australia.[20]

In the far North, native broadcasting may have implications for Canadian sovereignty. At the same time as the installation of a sophisticated satellite communications infrastructure has helped overcome the isolation of the far North, it has also reinforced Canada's commitment to the region. The radio and television programming broadcast there — a mixture of CBC national network programming and regional and local programming in English and native dialects — is a symbol of the unique pluralistic nature of Canada.

5. BROADCASTING FOR AND BY THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLES OF CANADA: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Most studies suggest that broadcasting for and by aboriginal Canadians has been a secondary consequence of government-supported experimentation designed first to test Canadian technology, and secondly, to serve the dominant society's interests in the northern regions of Canada.[21] In this regard, it is important to note that the native broadcasting projects and experiments described in this chapter are the exceptions. They constitute the most successful initiatives involving a people who, for the most part, were excluded in the development of broadcasting services.

5.1 High Frequency Radio

High frequency (HF) radios were the first radios to gain widespread use in Indian and Inuit communities. They were introduced by missionaries and later, by police and other government officials. Although not reliable for broadcast purposes, HF radio served as a cheap means of communicating over great distances. For years, it was the only way many isolated communities could communicate with the outside world, and as a result, many lives were saved in times of emergency.

One of the earliest documented uses of HF radio for broadcast purposes by native people took place in British Columbia in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It was developed by the Radio and Visual Education Network (RAVEN), the communications society of the Indians of British Columbia. The RAVEN project involved a two-way HF radio network that linked about 60 reserve communities with a total population of approximately 20,000. It was used primarily to exchange information on band affairs, and it also provided emergency health care services.[22]

5.2 CBC Shortwave Services

In 1958, the CBC Northern Service was created when the Canadian Armed Forces and Department of Transportation transmitters in Yellowknife, Whitehorse and Dawson City were turned over to the CBC. According to some researchers, one of the main reasons for the creation of the new CBC region was the federal government's concern for Canadian sovereignty over the region.[23]

Although the mandate of the CBC Northern Service is to serve the particular broadcasting needs of all northerners — Inuit, Dene Indians, Métis and non-natives — in the early days, it did little more than carry programs from the South on a tape delay basis, and by shortwave. The first Inuit-language broadcast occured in 1960, and by 1972, about 16 percent of the shortwave service from Montreal was in Inuktitut.[24] But the shortwave reception was notoriously poor and, in some parts of the North, Soviet and American broadcasts were sometimes received more clearly than the CBC.[25]

In order to improve distribution, the CBC extended its landline system to parts of the Yukon and the western Northwest Territories. With its rugged terrain and vast distances between settlements, the eastern Arctic had to await the advent of satellite technology before reception improved. In 1961, the Northern Service began establishing sub-regional production centres to better reflect the diversity of the North. Yet until recent years, the CBC catered mainly to the non-native, English-speaking minority.

5.3 Native Community Radio and Television

As basic broadcasting technology became more compact and therefore, more accessible in the early 1970s, native community radio grew. Most community radio stations were band-owned, surviving on shoe-string budgets and volunteer staff. Most used rudimentary equipment — a small console and a turntable — and many broadcast on low-powered FM transmitters, some with an output of only one watt. They served useful purposes: messages were passed to friends and relatives, search parties were organized for missing hunters, and everyone's favourite records were played. Programming was often in local aboriginal dialects, adding an important cultural dimension to media use.

The growth of community radio in Canada was given impetus early in the 1970s when the CBC established a policy supporting community access to local CBC transmitters. In a number of communities, CBC established affiliate agreements with local communications societies and provided them with basic studio facilities and equipment maintenance. More native communities were able to take advantage of this opportunity after 1974 when the federal Cabinet approved the CBC's Accelerated Coverage Plan, which called for the extension of CBC television and radio services to all communities of 500 or more. In the same year, the federal government also created the Native Communications Program to assist regional native communications societies to participate in media projects. While most of the dozen or so societies funded under the program have chosen to produce newspapers, some support community radio activity in their regions (see Chapter 6.3).

Community radio remains a vibrant cultural force in many native settlements. Through early community radio experimentation, native people gained hands-on experience with rudimentary communications technology and paved the way for more sophisticated regional broadcasting endeavors in the late 1970s and 1980s.

During the late 1960s, new video technology emerged in the form of compact, portable videotape recorders. These soon became effective tools for community and social development. In a few isolated instances, native community television projects grew out of early experiments with this new technology. One such project occurred in La Ronge, a small community in northern Saskatchewan with a Cree population of 2,000. In 1972, the CBC granted a Cree communications group access to the local CBC television transmitter. In addition, the CBC provided video equipment and maintenance services. The project lasted for several years during which time the native producers broadcast about one and one-half hours of local programming each week, mostly in Cree. Initial funding was provided by the Anglican Church and the federal Opportunities for Youth program.

The only other native community television project to gain prominence was PIC-TV in Pond Inlet on Baffin Island. Begun in 1977, the local television society provided a half hour each week of local programming aired over the CBC transmitter. PIC-TV ceased to operate after only a few years of service due mainly to insufficient funding resources.

While community radio continues to be a vibrant force in native broadcasting, the La Ronge and Pond Inlet experiments demonstrated how difficult it was to sustain a community television operation serving a small market.

5.4 Northern Pilot Project

Between 1971 and 1974, the Department of Communications sponsored a series of experiments designed to determine the communication needs of native people living in isolated regions. Called the Northern Pilot Project, the experiments involved native people in the planning, operation and evaluation of their own communications systems.

At Baker Lake, an inland Inuit community in the Keewatin region of the Northwest Territories, one experiment established an HF radio network linking Baker Lake with four neighbouring communities. The

project also helped Baker Lake establish its first community FM station, and an introduction to portable videotape recording technology paved the way for later television production activities.

A second experiment took place in northwestern Ontario, where 16 predominantly Cree and Ojibway communities were linked by HF radio. The system provided an inexpensive means of relaying important information concerning such things as aircraft movement, weather, government and band affairs, and the condition of native patients at the regional hospital in Sioux Lookout.

A federal evaluator concluded that both the Baker Lake and the northwestern Ontario experiment helped to increase Indian and Inuit understanding of broadcast technology and its potential applications in remote areas.[26]

5.5 The Hermes Experiments

In 1976, in co-operation with the United States, Canada launched the Hermes satellite. The initiative was designed, in part, to test the social applications of interactive satellite technology. Three projects, subsidized by the federal government and summarized below, involved native Canadians.

Naalakvik 1. Taqramiut Nipingat Inc., the communications society representing the Inuit of Arctic Quebec, used the Hermes satellite for two months in 1978 to provide Inuktitut radio programs to almost a dozen communities along the rugged Ungava and Hudson Bay coasts. The project occurred at a time when many of the communities had not yet received telephone services. For the first time, the experiment allowed individuals from across the northern part of the province to discuss important political issues of the day, such as a recent land claims settlement, the James Bay Agreement. The project demonstrated the value of interactive communication services, and set the stage for future radio and television activity under the leadership of Taqramiut Nipingat Inc.

WaWaTay Satellite Radio. WaWaTay, the native communications society serving 20,000 Cree and Ojibway in northwestern Ontario, was able to use the Hermes satellite to establish an interactive radio network linking four communities during the summer of 1978. By patching into local FM stations at Sandy Lake, Big Trout Lake, and Fort Hope, regional programming was broadcast locally. Programming was informal and distinctly northern, carrying news, stories, important personal messages and discussions on a

wide range of subject matter of interest to native residents. While the Department of Communications was most interested in proving the technological capability of the satellite system, it was the human interaction and development capabilities of the system that captured the imagination of the Cree and Ojibway of northwestern Ontario.[27]

Project Iron Star. Based in Edmonton, the Alberta Native Communications Society added a video dimension to the Hermes experiment. In the period from May to November 1977, video programs were packaged in Edmonton and broadcast to three outlying communities — Fort Chipewyan, Demarais-Wabasca, and Assumption. The programs were topical and audiences participated in the ensuing discussions by means of a telephone hook-up via Hermes.

5.6 The Introduction of Satellite Television in the Far North

The introduction of satellite television in the far North set in motion a series of events that shaped the direction for native broadcasting today. On November 9, 1972, Anik A-1 was launched, and on February 5, 1973 the CBC provided its first live television to the North via satellite. The large-scale introduction of television to northern native communities did not start until 1975, when CBC's Accelerated Coverage Plan was implemented. In the late 1970s, the governments of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories supplemented CBC's Accelerated Coverage Plan by installing satellite television receiving equipment in communities of less than 500.

Essentially a hardware package, the Accelerated Coverage Plan made no provisions for program production. In 1978, Doug Ward, then Director of the CBC Northern Service, brought this point to the attention of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) with the following commentary:

> This plan has been a great boon to the Corporation, because it has helped us to deliver the national service to uncovered pockets of Canadians all over the country. But the plan is a coverage plan. There is no money provided to tailor special programming for the new areas that have been given new coverage. And while it might not be of dire consequence in the rural South, where influence of large southern cities has held sway for decades or even hundreds of years, it is serious in the North, and most serious in the traditional native settlements.[28]

It should be noted that in1976 the CBC put forward a proposal for the development of full regional services in mid-Canada and the North. Called the Northern Broadcasting Plan, the proposal involved $7,430,000 in capital and $10,848,000 in annual operating funds over five years. It was turned down by Cabinet, and it was not until 1984 that the CBC submitted a new proposal (see Chapter 7.1).

The introduction of satellite-delivered southern television to northern native communities was greeted with mixed emotions, ranging from curiosity to contempt. Soap operas, like *The Edge of Night* and *All My Children*, proved so popular that work hours and community activities had to be scheduled around them. Children in many parts of the Northwest Territories were habitually late for school having watched the late night movie. This prompted teachers in some regions to petition the CBC to change the schedule. Many communities expressed grave concern over the gratuitous violence, the exploitation, and the consumer orientation of television. Native representatives in the far North complained that communities had not been adequately consulted regarding the introduction of television. Many expressed their concern regarding the lack of funds and facilities to incorporate regional programming appropriate to their needs. Some were defiant. The Northern Quebec Inuit Association intervened before the CRTC, opposing the CBC's bid to establish satellite television services at Fort Chimo and Poste-de-la-Baleine until the CBC was prepared to provide an adequate radio service for the region, and a television service that included Inuit programming.

5.7 The Anik B Experiments: The Beginning of an Inuit Television Service

Inuit demands to be included in the development of an appropriate northern television service were answered with the Department of Communications' Anik B Communications Program in the late 1970s. Under the program, two Inuit groups were provided with the opportunity to experiment in developing their own television services.

The Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, the national Inuit organization, co-ordinated one project called "Inukshuk," named after the human-like stone cairns used by Inuit hunters. The Department of Communications provided the technical infrastructure, including a satellite uplink located in Frobisher Bay. Between 1978 and 1982, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs provided $1.9 million to fund the experiment. The project involved film and video production training, the establishment of production facilities and a videotape mail distribution system to more than 30 Inuit communities in the Northwest Territories and Labrador. Once the Anik B phase of the project was activated, Inukshuk provided six Inuit

communities in the Northwest Territories with an interactive network combining teleconferencing and television broadcasting for 16 1/2 hours each week for eight months.

The second project, called Naalakvik II, was co-ordinated by Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. With funding totalling $918,000, shared between the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and the Department of Supply and Services, Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. linked five isolated Arctic Quebec Inuit communities in an interactive network with program production and uplink facilities located in Salluit on the Ungava Peninsula. Unlike the Inukshuk Project, Naalakvik II introduced television for the first time to the Inuit of Northern Quebec.

Despite their successes, both projects were short-lived, ending in 1981 when funds ran out and Anik B was put to commercial use. While brief, the Anik B experiments marked the beginning of a new era in native communications. Inukshuk and Naalakvik II made clear the need for an Inuit-controlled and operated television service, and demonstrated to federal authorities that aboriginal people could successfully manage complex broadcasting projects and adapt sophisticated technology to meet their communications needs.

5.8 The Therrien Committee

In January 1980, the CRTC formed the nine-member Committee on the Extension of Service to Northern and Remote Communities. Headed by Réal Therrien, the committee provided a public forum in which the television broadcasting options of various interest groups could be examined and debated before implementing structural changes to the broadcasting system in Canada's remote and northern regions. For the first time in CRTC history a native person, John Amagoalik, a prominent Inuit spokesman from Frobisher Bay, was invited to become a panel member.

The Committee received almost 400 representations, and held public hearings in Baker Lake, Northwest Territories; Whitehorse, Yukon; Geraldton, Ontario; Goose Bay-Happy Valley, Labrador; and Ottawa/Hull.

Indian and Inuit groups from across the North took the opportunity to inform the committee of the impact of southern television services on their languages and cultures. At the hearing in Baker Lake, the

Inuit Tapirisat of Canada put forward a plan for an Inuit controlled broadcasting service using the CBC's satellite distribution infrastructure.

The Therrien Committee proved sympathetic to the concerns raised by native representatives and their supporters. Therrien's final report cleared the way for future northern and native broadcasting policy by recommending the following:

- Canada must fulfill its obligation to provide opportunity for its native peoples to preserve the use of their languages and foster the maintenance and development of their own cultures through broadcasting and other communications.
- The approved budgets of the CBC and the NFB should be supplemented by Parliamentary appropriations to be used exclusively for the development and support of broadcasting services by and for the native peoples of Canada.
- Funding by federal departments and agencies for use by native communications societies should be determined in consultation with the latter, and wherever possible, in cooperation with the province or territory in which the funds are to be spent.
- Consideration should be given to the possibility of assistance from the private sector of the broadcasting industry to native organizations undertaking broadcasting activities.
- Consideration should be given to providing financial and other support, on the largest feasible scale, to the creation of an Inuit broadcasting system to operate a network of services available in all Inuit communities.
- The CRTC should encourage licence applications from native communities or organizations to operate broadcasting undertakings in predominantly native communities, in order to promote native-language programming and production by native people.
- Any predominantly native community should have the right to decide on the channels to be delivered locally; to eliminate complete channels; and, on any particular channel, to eliminate a program or substitute one of its own choice.[29]

The Therrien Committe also took pains to elaborate on the term 'access,' a key word that was to draw considerable attention in later federal policy respecting nothern and native broadcasting. The report noted:

> There is an important point to be made about access. The word is used in a passive sense, that of giving people access to broadcasting services and in an active sense, in demands for access to transmitting and cable facilities so as to be able to deliver community and native-language programming. It is not enough to give access, in the latter sense, alone; it is of little practical value without the assistance of trained staff and technicians, and funds to produce the programs.[30]

5.9 Licensing of Native Broadcasters and Cancom

In a landmark decision in 1981, the CRTC granted a television broadcast licence to the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada to be held until an independent organization could be created for the purposes of managing the Inuit network. A $3.9 million grant from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, disbursed over a two-year period (1981-82 and 1982-83), provided the funding base for Inuit television production in Northern Quebec and the Northwest Territories. Subsequently, the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation was formed and began its programming service in January 1982, sharing one of the CBC's Anik B transponders and its northern schedule. Also in 1981, following on the Therrien Committee's recommendations, the CRTC approved a joint application from Yukon Indians and the Dene from the Northwest Territories for a satellite radio network to deliver programming in several aboriginal languages. Initially, both groups received funding totalling approximately $200,000 from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs for research and development.

Also in 1981, in order to meet the demands of the non-native northern population for more television services, the Commission approved a network licence for Canadian Satellite Communications Inc. (Cancom). However, with respect to native-oriented programming, the Commission took the following position in its decision:

> The extension of southern-originated broadcasting services to the North, and to native communities in particular, carries with it a concommitant responsibility to facilitate the development of native-originated broadcasting services.[31]

Accordingly, Cancom was instructed to:

- provide one video and two audio uplinks in northern locations suitable to native groups, for native-produced programming;

- substitute up to ten hours per week of native-produced television programming;
- appoint one native representative as a vice-president of the licensee company;
- consult with native communications societies and assist their members to develop their own local productions;
- permit affiliated undertakings in predominantly native communities to delete the distribution of any southern-originated broadcasting signal and to substitute native-produced programming.[32]

6. NATIVE BROADCASTING TODAY

6.1 The Northern Broadcasting Policy (1983)

On March 1, 1983, the Minister of Communications announced a new Broadcasting Strategy for Canada. The strategy contained four major elements:

1. an expanded choice of broadcast programming for Canadians;

2. a strengthening of Canadian programming through a special fund to assist private and independent producers;

3. the intention of the federal government to issue periodic policy directives to the CRTC;

4. the liberalization of station ownership regulations to allow individuals, bars, taverns and nightclubs to display satellite programming without a licence.[33]

Along with the new Broadcasting Strategy for Canada, the Minister announced a number of "thrusts" for general public discussion, including the broadcasting needs of native groups and a review of the role of the CBC to ensure that it provided programming and services appropriate to the new broadcasting environment.

In 1982, the Department of Communications consulted with northern broadcasters and representatives of 16 native organizations actively involved in communications and broadcasting. The consultations brought the following points to the attention of federal officials:

- with the exception of CBC radio in the Northwest Territories, neither private nor public broadcasters were meeting the needs of native audiences;

- native-operated broadcasting services were urgently required to promote aboriginal languages and cultures, and thereby offset the destructive social and cultural impact of English television;

- predominantly native communities should be given the power to control the introduction of new broadcasting services.[34]

Following the consultation period, and in the context of the New Broadcasting Strategy, the Minister of Communications, the Minister of Northern Affairs, and the Secretary of State announced the Northern Broadcasting Policy.

The five principles of the Northern Broadcasting Policy are the following:

> 1. Northern residents should be offered access to an increasing range of programming choices through the exploitation of technological opportunities.
>
> 2. Northern native peoples should have the opportunity to participate actively in the determination by the CRTC of the character, quality and priority of programming broadcast in predominantly native communities.
>
> 3. Northern native people should have fair access to northern broadcasting distribution systems to maintain and develop their cultures and languages (**the 'fair access' principle**).
>
> 4. Programming relevant to native concerns, including content originated by native people, should be produced for distribution on northern broadcasting services wherever native people form a significant proportion of the population in the service area.
>
> 5. Northern native representatives should be consulted regularly by government agencies engaged in establishing broadcasting policies which would affect their cultures.[35]

In their joint press release, the Ministers made the following additional points:

> a. That television and radio programming produced by native groups would be distributed through "access to existing systems that serve the region — including the facilities of the CBC and Canadian Satellite Communications Inc. (Cancom)."
>
> b. That the CBC had been requested "to present a plan for an enhanced radio and TV programming service in the north, with special attention to news and information requirements."
>
> c. That the implementation of the five policy principles would be "part of the CRTC's ongoing development of regulations and licensing procedures for the introduction of new broadcasting services."[36]

For the purposes of the Northern Broadcasting Policy, the definition of the Canadian North is based on a commonly accepted boundary line — the Hamelin line — which includes the Arctic and the mid-north;

the Yukon, the Northwest Territories and the northern regions of British Columbia, the Prairie provinces, Ontario, Quebec and Labrador. This line (see Figure 1) follows the northern limits of continuous population distribution, coinciding roughly with the northern reach of conventional (terrestrial) private radio and television networks.

Figure 1: The Northern Broadcasting Policy: The North Defined

Source: La Radiodiffusion dans le Nord: Une Perspective Historique. Ottawa: Department of Communications, 1983, p. 8

6.2 The Northern Native Broadcast Access Program: Background

At the time the Northern Broadcasting Policy was made public, federal government also announced the creation of the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program (NNBAP) — a four-year, $40.3 million fund (prior to a $1 million cutback in each of fiscal year 1985-86 and 1986-87), designed to enable northern native communications societies to produce their own regional radio and television programming in native dialects.

The NNBAP budget was based on original projections to allow participating native communications societies to work their way toward a target production goal of up to 20 hours of radio and subsequently, five hours of television per week, or any equivalent. An underlying objective of the program was to give Indian and Metis groups in the Yukon, the Northwest Territories and the northern regions of seven provinces the opportunity to catch up to the Inuit in the eastern Arctic who were already broadcasting at near target levels by the time the NNBAP began in April 1983.

It is important to note that the NNBAP is essentially a fund for the production of regional network programming. Despite the wishes of some native communications societies, the NNBAP does not fund community radio or community television. Program administrators believe funding for community broadcast media would be too costly, and would not have the desired impact on indigenous language development.[37] Very limited funds for community radio support are available to some native communications societies under another federal program (see Chapter 6.3).

It is interesting to speculate as to why the federal government created a policy and a funding program exclusive to the North. Federal authorities feared the recent introduction of satellite television services in the North would erode native languages and cultures. They were aware that indigenous languages were stronger in the North and therefore, more likely to survive with appropriate institutional support. A strong lobbying effort from the North helped sway the Cabinet. It was northern natives, the Inuit in particular, who had demonstrated they were capable of managing large-scale broadcasting undertakings. Federal officials anticipated enriched funding for a complementary program addressing the communications needs of native people primarily in the South (see Chapter 6.3, Native Communications Program). However, due to federal spending restraint, native communications in the South did not receive substantial new funding.

6.2.1 NNBAP Funding Eligibility

The NNBAP funds one native communications society in each of thirteen northern cultural and linguistic regions as outlined in Figure 2.

The NNBAP budget was based on original projections to allow participating native communications societies to work their way toward a target production goal of up to 20 hours of radio and subsequently, five hours of television per week, or any equivalent. An underlying objective of the program was to give Indian and Metis groups in the Yukon, the Northwest Territories and the northern regions of seven provinces the opportunity to catch up to the Inuit in the eastern Arctic who were already broadcasting at near target levels by the time the NNBAP began in April 1983.

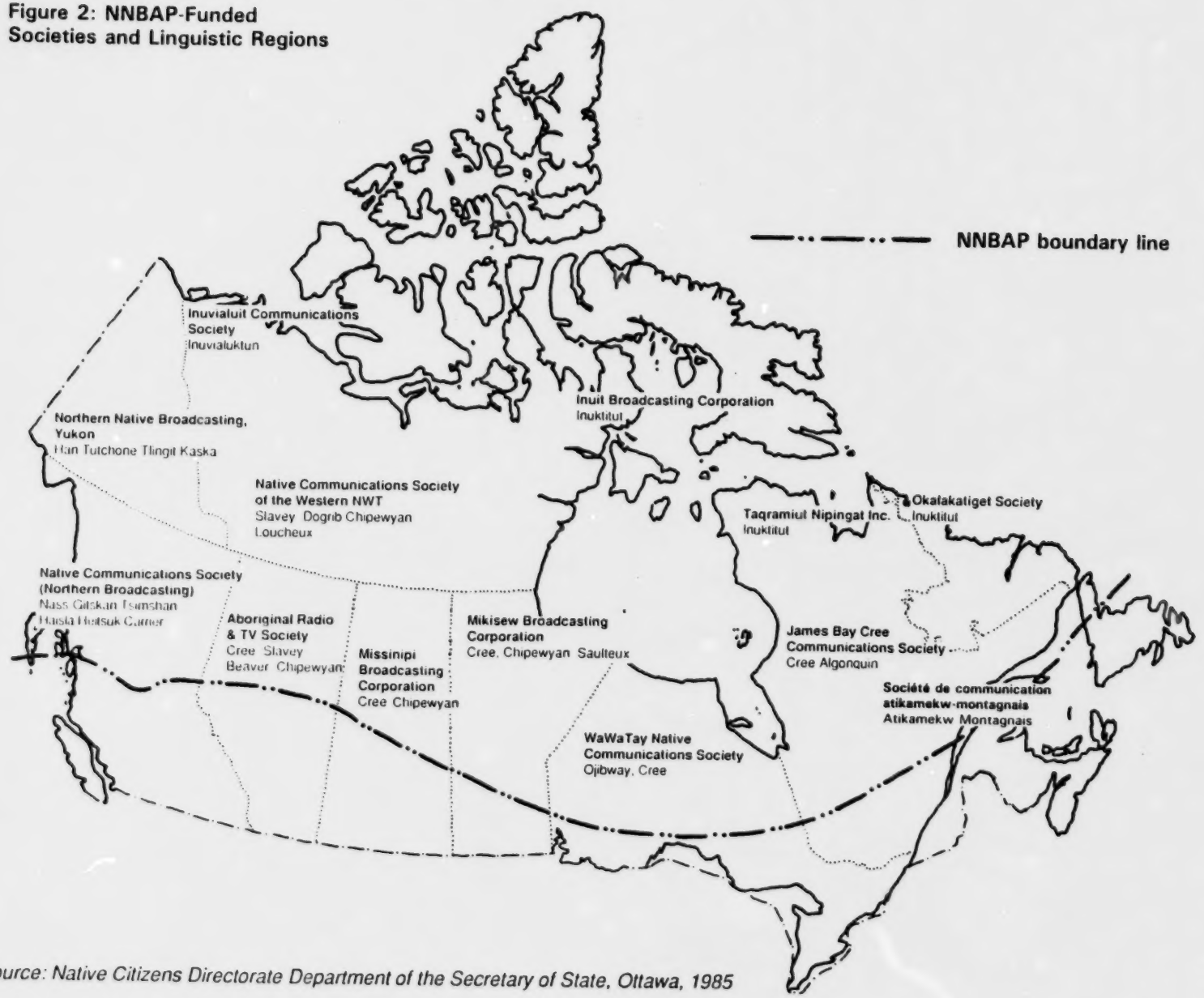
It is important to note that the NNBAP is essentially a fund for the production of regional network programming. Despite the wishes of some native communications societies, the NNBAP does not fund community radio or community television. Program administrators believe funding for community broadcast media would be too costly, and would not have the desired impact on indigenous language development.[37] Very limited funds for community radio support are available to some native communications societies under another federal program (see Chapter 6.3).

It is interesting to speculate as to why the federal government created a policy and a funding program exclusive to the North. Federal authorities feared the recent introduction of satellite television services in the North would erode native languages and cultures. They were aware that indigenous languages were stronger in the North and therefore, more likely to survive with appropriate institutional support. A strong lobbying effort from the North helped sway the Cabinet. It was northern natives, the Inuit in particular, who had demonstrated they were capable of managing large-scale broadcasting undertakings. Federal officials anticipated enriched funding for a complementary program addressing the communications needs of native people primarily in the South (see Chapter 6.3, Native Communications Program). However, due to federal spending restraint, native communications in the South did not receive substantial new funding.

6.2.1 NNBAP Funding Eligibility

The NNBAP funds one native communications society in each of thirteen northern cultural and linguistic regions as outlined in Figure 2.

Figure 2: NNBAP-Funded Societies and Linguistic Regions



Source: Native Citizens Directorate Department of the Secretary of State, Ottawa, 1985

In order to be eligible for funding, aboriginal communications societies had to meet the following criteria:

- demonstrate a willingness to consult with and serve all aboriginal language groups and communities in the region;
- be incorporated as a non-profit organization;
- be democratically controlled by the native people of the region;
- be managed by persons of native origin;
- be independent from federal, provincial or local government organizations, and from native political organizations.[38]

6.2.2 NNBAP Administration

The NNBAP is administered under the Native Citizens Directorate of the Secretary of State.

Under the program there is a National Liaison Committee composed of representatives from the Department of the Secretary of State, the Department of Communications, Indian and Northern Affairs, the CRTC, the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission and the CBC. The National Liaison Committee meets periodically in order to review applications for funding, to provide an appeal mechanism in the event of disputes, and to formulate policy related to the program.

Regional Liaison Committees consisting of federal representatives, regional native communications societies, the northern broadcasters providing native broadcasters with air-time and other interested parties, meet quarterly to supervise regional activity and to approve applications prior to submitting them to Ottawa officials and the National Liaison Committee for approval.

6.2.3 NNBAP Current Operations Review

When the NNBAP began, two Inuit communications societies — the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. — were already under way. Responsibility for these two societies was transferred from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs to the NNBAP at the Department of the Secretary of State.

There are now 13 native broadcasting groups producing native-language regional programming under the NNBAP.[39] Table 2 provides an overview of NNBAP operations for the 1985-86 fiscal year.

6.2.4 NNBAP Radio and Television Programming

The programs produced by sponsored societies are as varied as the regions they serve. Together, the societies broadcast in at least 20 indigenous languages and dialects. Eight of the sponsored groups provide varying amounts of bilingual programming, consisting of the dominant regional native language and English. This occurs in Labrador and parts of the West where the demand for bilingual programming is high. NNBAP staff insist that sponsored organizations place the emphasis on broadcasting in the indigenous languages of the region.

Most native broadcasters favour regional news and current affairs programming. This may stem in part from the journalistic orientation of the training made available to most groups. Generally, as the groups become more experienced and increase their hours of regional access, there is more room for variety in their programming. Phone-in shows are popular, as are documentaries, dramas, music shows and broadcasts dealing with native traditions. With encouragement from NNBAP officials, groups are beginning to experiment with productions for children and youth.

Under NNBAP regulations, each sponsored group is obliged to commission an annual independent audience survey. The survey data helps groups plan the content and scheduling of programming for each new season.

Table 2: Northern Native Broadcast Access Program: Operations Review (April 1985-March 1986)

Northern Native Broadcasting Group	Geographic Region	Communities Total	Served	Native Population	Languages Broadcast	Production Hours per Week	NNBAP Production Funding	NNBAP Distribution Funding	CEIC Training Funding	Provincial/Territorial Funding (Broadcasting)	Distributor	Staff
Inuit Broadcasting Corp.	Eastern Arctic	40	40	20,000	Inuktitut	TV 3.5	1,600,000	0	570,500	2,500	CBC	50
Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. (TV)	Eastern Arctic	40	40	20,000	Inuktitut	TV 2	1,050,000	0	0	0	CBC	20
Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. (Radio)	Arctic Quebec	13	13	5,400	Inuktitut	Radio 5	353,500	0	0	12,000	CBC	12
Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon	Yukon	11	6	6,000	Han, Loucheux, Tutchone, Kaska Tlingit, English	Radio 60	620,000	68,725	under negotiation	0	Cancom	20
Société de communication atikamekw-montagnais	Central Quebec North Shore, Labrador	15	15	11,000	Atikamekw, Montagnais	Radio 15	620,000	100,000	240,000	20,000	CBC	25
WaWa Tay	Northern Ontario	30	25	20,000	Ojibway, Cree	Radio 25	620,000	0	under negotiation	0	TV Ontario	30
Mikisew Broadcasting Corp.	Northern Manitoba	60	40	20,000	Cree, English	TV 5	480,000	0	310,000	0	CBC	30
Missinipi Broadcasting Corp.	Northern Sask.	44	39	20,000	Cree, Chipewyan English	Radio 7	480,000	0	85,000	0	CBC	20
Native Communications Society of the Western NWT	Western NWT	28	20	13,000	Chip, Dogrib Slavey, Loucheux, English	Radio 25	480,000	0	0	0	Cancom	11
Inuvialuit Communications Society	Western Arctic	6	6	3,600	Inuvialuktun, English	TV 0.5	450,000	0	345,000	0	CBC	20
Okalakatiget Society	Labrador	6	6	3,000	Inuktitut, English	Radio 5 TV .4/mo	450,000	0	199,790	0	CBC	20
James Bay Cree Communications Society	James Bay Cree, Québec	11	11	9,500	Cree, Algonquin	Radio 5	370,000	0	200,000	5,000	CBC	13
Native Communications Society, Northern Broadcasting	Northern British Columbia	59	unknown	24,000	8 Aboriginal Languages, English	Radio 1.5	370,000	0	150,000	0	CBC and Privates	10
Aboriginal Radio-Television Society	Northern Alberta	49	unknown	30,000	Cree, English	Radio 7.5	335,000	0	0	0	CBC	5

Source: Native Citizens Directorate, Secretary of State, Ottawa/Hull, September 1985.

6.2.5 NNBAP Distribution

The NNBAP is primarily a production fund with few provisions for distribution. Native producers must rely on existing northern broadcasters to carry their programming. Distribution then, is dependent on the degree to which existing northern broadcasters, like the CBC and Cancom, are willing to comply with the 'fair access' principle of the Northern Broadcasting Policy (see Chapter 6.1) and, on the capacity of their distribution systems to respond to access requests.

Broadcasters who have been requested to provide 'fair access' for independent native programming have raised a number of concerns, summarized below:

- The provincial norths are generally underserved with regard to broadcasting. For the most part, the CBC, provincial and private broadcasters do not have distribution systems dedicated to northern regions;

- In most parts of Canada, CBC radio and television regional distribution is terrestrial. Signals are fed from production facilities in metropolitan centres through a line of transmitters often alternating between predominantly native and non-native communities. This system cannot readily be adapted to distribute special programming to predominantly native communities only;

- CBC's satellite channels serving the Arctic region are not dedicated to the North; moreover, their primary function is to shuttle national network programming across the country for regional distribution. This system does not lend itself to northern regional access, especially during prime-time;

- Some northern broadcasters fear an outcry from the non-native audience as a result of native-language programming;

- Some northern broadcasters want editorial control over native access programming;

- Cancom is hesitant about replacing English-language programming with native-language programming on its television schedule;

- Most broadcasters want to be compensated for any extra costs associated with the distribution of native regional programming. Some private broadcasters want to be paid for access time.

Under NNBAP regulations, native producers must obtain a signed distribution agreement with a northern broadcaster in order to qualify for production funding. There are no standard distribution agreements; each conforms to the particular set of circumstances in each region. (An outline and analysis of each distribution agreement is provided in Appendix B.) For example, in northwestern Ontario, WaWaTay is able to piggyback its radio service on a sub-carrier of the TVOntario satellite distribution system. The agreement was made possible because it coincided with TVOntario's plan to install earth stations in more than 120 rural and remote Ontario communities. Of the 13 northern native broadcasting organizations, WaWaTay has one of the best distribution agreements — for the moment. (WaWaTay anticipates difficulty in negotiating a satisfactory television distribution agreement.) Others, like Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. and the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, and the communications societies of the four western provinces, do not have access agreements that meet their needs and expectations. They must contend with such limitations as late night or early morning time slots, numerous pre-emptions, schedule changes, and insufficient access hours. In some instances, native communications groups are unable to serve all of the communities in their regions via a single distribution system. This problem is particularly acute in northern British Columbia where mainstream broadcasters, like the CBC still rely on terrestrial distribution systems, despite mountainous terrain.

Where there is no satellite receiving equipment in place, such as in most northern native communities of Manitoba, native broadcasters have had to settle for inferior distribution arrangements. For example, Mikisew Broadcasting Corporation packages audio programming and a half hour of television programming each week in studios at Thompson. This programming is then fed to CBC Winnipeg where slides are added to the audio programming, and then to CBC's northern Manitoba television transmitters from 7:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m., Monday to Friday, prior to the regular broadcast day. Since this is the best distribution option Mikisew could negotiate, the organization has been forced to choose between inferior access or no access at all.

Prior to federal cutbacks, the NNBAP had allocated $3.3 million to a distribution fund for use in the last three years of the program. To date, the fund has been used primarily to enable native communications societies to purchase earth receiving equipment in remote communities for satellite access. It was anticipated that the fund could be used in the final year of the program (1986-87) to purchase satellite

time. However, with cutbacks, the distribution fund was reduced by 35 percent in 1985-86. This has severely diminished its capacity to overcome distribution bottlenecks in the future.[40]

While all northern native broadcasting groups under the NNBAP have so far been able to secure some form of access, the concern is for the future. Already, some native broadcasters are prepared to produce more than the distributors will carry, and access demand is expected to triple over the next several years.[41]

6.2.6 NNBAP Impact

There are indications that the NNBAP has already had a significant impact despite the fact that the program has been operational for less than three years. Participating native broadcasters are now producing about 200 hours per week of radio programming, and about 10 hours of television each week. Approximately 250 people are directly employed by participating broadcast groups, and it is estimated that an additional 100 will be employed when the program expires in 1987.[42] Many jobs have been created indirectly in such fields as transportation, construction, training and research. Most have gone to native people, many of whom are from communities where unemployment rates are far above the national average.

To date, independent audience surveys have been generally positive: native people are listening to and watching the programming produced by the participating societies, and they are asking for more. There are also preliminary indications that when combined with other institutional efforts, native broadcasting may well have a significant impact on indigenous language and cultural development.

A comprehensive evaluation of the NNBAP is being undertaken by the Department of the Secretary of State in preparation for a Cabinet submission to determine whether the program will be extended beyond 1987, and in what form.

6.2.7 NNBAP Budget Projections

After cutbacks, and accounting for the freeze on inflationary increases announced in the May 23, 1985 Budget, the NNBAP budget is as follows:

1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
4,350,000	7,152,000	9,028,000	13,971,000

The projected budget required to sustain the anticipated growth of the 13 aboriginal broadcasting organizations in the program is as follows:

1987-88	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91
19,000,000	22,000,000	25,000,000	27,000,000

It is also important to note that to date, provincial and territorial funding for native broadcasting activity has been insignificant (see Table 2). Quebec is the only province with an ongoing program in this field. Since 1973-74, Quebec's Ministère des communications has allocated about $2.1 million to native communications societies in the province. Priority is given to community radio, and grants under the program are relatively small, rarely exceeding $30,000 annually.[43]

6.3 Other Related Federal Programs and Initiatives

Native Communications Program (NCP). Administered by the Secretary of State since 1974, this program provides grants and contributions (totalling $4,219,500 in 1985-86) to 15 native communications societies, and a number of special communications projects. Most of the societies supported under the program publish newspapers; some, like WaWaTay, also provide technical support to native community radio operations. Funding under this program can also be used for training and media workshops. In 1985-86, 17 percent of the fund (about $720,000) was used to support broadcasting activity in four native communications societies.[44] At the present time, a proposal to amalgamate the NNBAP and the NCP is under consideration.

Native Representative Organizations Program. Administered by the Secretary of State, this program provides over $14 million in "core funding" to representative native organizations across the country, such as the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, the Assembly of First Nations and the Native Council of Canada. Many of the representative organizations spend a proportion of their core funding on communications activities. These usually take the form of newsletters, newspapers and position papers, and only occasionally include audio, video and film productions intended for broadcast.

The Cultural Educational Centres Program. Administered by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, this program provides funding (a total of $7,184,000 in 1985-86) for 65 cultural/educational centres across Canada. These centres operate educational and information programs designed to support and enhance native cultures. A number of them have used media as a tool for disseminating information.

National Film Board of Canada (NFB). The NFB has been actively involved with native people for many years. Over a four-year period in the early 1970s, the NFB, with assistance from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, trained and employed two Indian film crews and sponsored two film animation workshops on Baffin Island in the eastern Arctic. These early efforts have had a lasting impact, and are reflected in the work of some Northern native broadcasters today. The NFB has also supported the production of indigenous-language soundtracks for some of its films. The current NFB catalogue lists more than 100 films about Canada's Aboriginal Peoples. These represent more than six and one-half percent of the English titles and five percent of the French titles available. Despite its "Northern Support Project," direct NFB assistance to native film and video groups has tapered off in recent years amid budget restraint and restructuring. There is no mention of special services to native Canadians in the NFB's new "Five Year Plan."

Telefilm Canada. With $72 million to disburse from the Canadian Broadcast Program Development Fund (the Broadcast Fund) and approximately another $10 million in other programs for the 1985-86 fiscal year, Telefilm's mandate is to support the private film and video production industry of Canada. To date, except for the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, no native production company has applied for Telefilm funding. The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation has received approval in principle for development support under the Broadcast Fund for an Inuit children's educational television series. Telefilm has confirmed that it is prepared to fund indigenous-language productions, as long as all its other program criteria are met.[45]

6.4 The CBC: Native Programming, Native Access

6.4.1 CBC Northern Service

The Northern Service is the only CBC regional service that produces a significant amount of native-oriented programming. The strength of the Northern Service is radio; its weakness is television.

The geographic region of the CBC Northern Service includes northern Quebec, the Northwest Territories, and the Yukon. Native people form a 55 percent majority in the region. With radio production facilities in Ottawa, Montreal, Frobisher Bay, Rankin Inlet, Yellowknife, Inuvik and Whitehorse, the CBC Northern Service provides programming in at least eight indigenous languages. In some locations, like Frobisher Bay, about 35 percent of the radio schedule is in Inuktitut. Thirty-five percent of the 135 radio staff positions are filled by native northerners.[46] Whitehorse is the only CBC Northern Service radio station with a native staff complement of less than 10 percent. As a result, little native-language programming is produced by CBC-Whitehorse.

Northern Service television operates from a single northern production centre situated in Yellowknife. Eight percent of the staff are of native origin; less that seven percent of the 1985 fall schedule — about eight hours per week — is devoted to original northern regional programming. This eight hours consists of the following:

	hours per week of television	
(i) Acquired Programming		
• from the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and Taqramiut Nipingat Inc.	5	(Inuktitut)
• from the Inuvialuit Communications Society, Inuvik	0.25	(Inuvialuktun)
(ii) CBC-Produced Programming		
• from CBC North, Yellowknife	1	(English)
• from CBC North, Yellowknife	0.75	(Inuktitut)
• from CBC North, Yellowknife	0.5	(Dene languages)
• from CBC Northern Service, Montreal	0.5	(Cree)
Total	8	

Source: CBC Northern Service, Ottawa, September 30, 1985.

6.4.2 CBC National Network

CBC's national network is now devoid of programming specifically oriented to Canada's Aboriginal Peoples. After a run of more than 25 years, *Our Native Land* was dropped from the national network schedule, effective October 1985, amid controversy. Rationalizing the program's cancellation, CBC network officials pointed to low audience share (less than four percent), and stated that native issues should be "assimilated into regular programming, not ghettoized in a separate time slot."[47] Reflecting the outrage voiced by many aboriginal groups, David Crombie, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, called the move an error in judgement, according to a Canadian Press newspaper article.[48]

6.4.3 Community and Regional Access to the CBC

As noted in Chapter 5.3, CBC's policy on community access to local CBC transmitters dates back to the early 1970s. Presently, the CBC provides community radio access to 24 communities across Canada, 22 of which are native.[49] Local access programming ranges from one-half hour to five hours per day.[50]

6.4.4 CBC Policy on Native Regional Access

Regional access for native communications societies began in earnest in 1982, when the CBC Northern Service started sharing its television schedule with Inuit broadcasters, and when the Northern Quebec Service (now part of Northern Service) provided the Atikamekw and Montagnais with access to CBC satellite and shortwave radio transmission facilities. As indicated in Table 2, the CBC now provides regional access to 10 of the 13 northern native communications societies funded under the NNBAP.

In 1984, after months of study and consultation, the corporate office of the CBC announced its native access policy, together with its Northern Regional Broadcast Plan (see Chapter 7.1). Highlights of CBC's native access policy are as follows:

> • Independent native access programs must not replace key network and regional programming. Independent native access programming is seen as a "*discrete*, local program service, not mixed with the regional output." As a third level of programming, native access radio and television is third in priority, after national network and CBC-produced regional programming.

- CBC retains the final responsibility to decide on specific times for access broadcasts. (CBC retains the right to pre-empt native access programming with CBC programming deemed to be of national interest.)

- NNBAP production goals of five hours per week for television and 20 hours per week for radio for each sponsored native communications society is seen as a guideline, not a guarantee.

- CBC will negotiate native access requests on a case-by-case basis. Access time will depend on several factors, including the level of development of the native communications society, the size of the native population being served, existing services in the area, and the flexibility of the distribution system being considered.

- CBC will not exercise editorial or journalistic control over native access programs.[51] (However, the CBC requires native broadcasters to have $1,000,000 of indemnity insurance.)

Although not mentioned in the CBC Native Access Policy, native broadcasters are expected to cover all costs associated with delivering their programming to the CBC distribution point, as well as any extra costs associated with local transmission and technical alterations to CBC facilities.

6.4.5 Other Forms of CBC Support

Used in the broadest sense of the term, the CBC has provided other forms of native 'access'. On occasion, the CBC has provided equipment and personnel for training native broadcasters, often as a service to community radio groups. The CBC has also provided training assistance to native communications societies such as Mikisew, WaWaTay, James Bay Cree and the Société de communication atikamekw-montagnais.

As part of its mandate, the CBC has done a great deal to promote northern native musical talent. The Corporation has produced more than two dozen recordings of traditional and contemporary native music, and has sponsored numerous talent festivals in the North.

6.5 Provincial Broadcasters: Native Programming, Native Access

In the last decade there have been major advancements in educational television, particularly in the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario and Quebec. For the most part however, educational television has not been geared to the needs of native people. Like provincial school systems, educational television has served the interests of the dominant society.[52]

Increasingly, educational television is available to native people. For example, British Columbia's Knowledge Network reaches about 80 percent of the provincial population, as well as many homes with cable service in the Yukon and western Northwest Territories. The network offers general interest programs and a wide variety of college and university-level courses. Unfortunately, no statistics are available on native enrolment, and no studies have been carried out to determine the impact of the service on the native population.

With the assistance of the Ministry of Northern Affairs, TVOntario is extending its services to many of the rural communities in northwestern Ontario, most of which are Cree and Ojibway. For some communities with populations of less than 500, TVOntario is the first television service they will receive. While no special television programming for Ontario's Indian population is planned, TVOntario representatives are visiting many of the native schools to show teachers how to use television in the classroom, and how to best adapt it to local curricula.[53]

Knowledge Network and Access Alberta insist on editorial control, and have placed other stringent conditions on providing air-time to independent native broadcasters. This has forced native communications societies in Alberta and British Columbia to turn to other broadcasters, including private stations, for regional access. In Quebec, the provincial educational broadcaster, Radio Québec, has expressed interest in distributing native programming, but the need has not been evident since the CBC has agreed to distribute the radio signals of all three native broadcasting groups in the province.

TVOntario is the only provincial broadcaster providing unrestricted air-time to independent northern native broadcasters. At the present time, TVOntario gives the WaWaTay Radio Network access to an audio sub-carrier. By January 1986, the WaWaTay Radio Network is expected to have 20 hours of air-time each week. It is as yet uncertain whether TVOntario will agree to carry WaWa Tay's Ojibway/Cree television programming, expected sometime in 1987.

To date, Ontario has been the only province to establish a policy on native access. Ontario's policy states that:

- Native communities should have access to an increased choice of broadcast entertainment, educational and informational services at fair prices;
- Native communities should have the right to determine and control the broadcast signals distributed within their communities, including the right, subject to negotiation, to delete any particular program and substitute one of their choice in its place;
- Opportunities should be provided to broadcast locally-produced and/or locally-relevant programming using the distribution facilities of broadcasters licensed to serve northern areas.[54]

Further to the last point, the Government of Ontario recommends that broadcasters licensed to extend services into northern native communities, or to serve northern areas which include predominantly native communities, be required, as a condition of licence, to provide access to their distribution facilities for native-originated programming.[55]

6.6 Private Broadcasters: Native Programming, Native Access

Other than Cancom, which was licensed to serve rural and remote communities in Canada, few private broadcasters provide any services targeted at native audiences. While there are some isolated examples of private broadcasters providing some native-oriented programming in urban centres such as Winnipeg and Regina, none of it is native-language programming, and it is not aired at peak audience times.

Native communications societies in British Columbia and Manitoba have negotiated for air-time on private radio stations. One society in Manitoba, Native Communications Inc., purchases 30 hours per week of access time from private radio stations in The Pas, Thompson and Flin Flon at a cost in excess of $40,000 annually.

In accordance with the performance expectations noted in its licence (see Chapter 5.9), Cancom provides audio uplink facilities and 25 hours per week of access time to each of two native communications societies in the northwestern region of the country. Because many native communities cannot afford

Cancom services, in some instances native communications societies have had to provide funds to install audio-receive facilities at the local level.

Cancom has yet to meet its obligation to provide a video uplink, or to substitute up to 10 hours per week of native-produced television programming on its schedule. Instead, with the assistance of provincial funding and federal training funds, Cancom has prepared a pilot English-language series called "Native Express." This has been produced in co-operation with MTV and aired weekly over CHCH, in the Toronto region. One recent survey found that only 30 percent of native respondents in Metropolitan Toronto knew about the program, 18 percent of whom watched it once a month or more, while 37 percent never viewed the program.[56]

While in principle Cancom does not object to replacing some of its regular television programming with independent native programming, the corporation claims that "there has been virtually no native video programming of broadcast quality available."[57] Anticipating broadcast quality native television programming in the future as a result of the NNBAP, Cancom takes the position that it will control the selection and scheduling of this programming so as not to "unduly disrupt the viewing patterns of the main body of its subscribers who support the service."[58] Furthermore, Cancom questions the appropriateness of broadcasting in indigenous languages, suggesting that native programming on its network be in English "in order both to bridge the linguistic differences among native communities and to permit the widest possible access to such programming by non-native Canadians living throughout Canada."[59]

6.7 CRTC's Northern Native Broadcasting Committee

On December 14, 1984, the CRTC announced the formation of a Northern Native Broadcasting Committee (CRTC 1984-310) composed of CRTC Vice-Chairman Réal Therrien and Commissioner Paul McRae, under the chairmanship of the latter, for the purpose of identifying broadcasting problems experienced by native communications societies funded under the NNBAP.

The Committee has held informal consultative meetings with representatives of most of the 13 native communications societies funded under the NNBAP, with the CBC and with staff from the Native Citizens Directorate of the Secretary of State. During September and October, the Committee held public hearings in Whitehorse, Thompson, Kuujjuaq (Ft. Chimo, Quebec) and Hull. It is anticipated the public hearings will lead to a series of recommendations for the development of a comprehensive policy respecting northern

native broadcasting (see Appendix C, CRTC 1985-67, call for Comments Respecting Northern Native Broadcasting).

Until the policy is developed, the CRTC is renewing expired northern broadcasting licences for only a one-year period.

6.8 Broadcasting by Native People in the South

Little information exists on native-controlled broadcasting activity in the southern and urban areas of Canada. Although there are one or two examples where relatively prosperous Indian groups in the West have invested in commercial radio stations, native involvement in radio and television is generally very limited.

Chapters 6.4-6.6 of this report indicate that native access to the CBC, provincial broadcasters and private broadcasters is almost non-existent in the South. Chapter 6.3 shows that federal support for southern native broadcasting is very weak. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that native broadcasting in the South is confined mainly to community radio.

Indian community radio in the South, like that at Lac Simon, St. Regis, Lorettevillle and Restigouche in Quebec, is modelled after what is perhaps the most commercially successful community-controlled native radio station in Canada, Kahnawake Radio, on the Caughnawaga reserve at Montreal.

Begun in 1979, Kahnawake Radio is a low-powered FM station serving about 5,000 Mohawk Indians on the Caughnawaga Reserve. However, Kahnawake's signal reaches parts of Greater Montreal. About 25 percent of Kahnawake's programming is in Mohawk; the remainder is in English, the dominant second language on the reserve. Mohawk programming helps to supplement native-language instruction in the band-controlled school.

Although Kahnawake Radio received more than $50,000 of capital funding from the Quebec government in its first three years of operation, it is now completely self-sufficient. Commercials generate some operating revenue, but the bulk of Kahnawake's funding comes from radio bingo. A prosperous reserve relative to most others in Canada, the Mohawks of Caughnawaga spend enough on radio bingo to sustain profits of over $6,000 each week.[60]

It should be noted that Kahnawake Radio is the exception: most Indian community radio stations struggle to meet basic operating costs, and rely totally on volunteer staff.

7. PROPOSED MEGA PROJECTS

7.1 CBC's Northern Regional Broadcast Plan

Federal authorities and the CBC have long realized that the public broadcasting service in mid-Canada and the far North is inferior to the service provided to the southern regions of Canada. In a letter of March 10, 1983 to the President of the CBC, the Minister of Communications requested the CBC to present costed alternatives for enhanced radio and television services in mid-Canada and the North, including provisions for native-language news and information services and independent native access. The CBC responded late in 1984 with a Northern Regional Broadcast Plan, outlined as follows:

- a daily half-hour television news and information service in English for the Northwest Territories and Yukon;
- a nine 3-man television units, one located in each of Labrador, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, and two in each of Ontario and Quebec;
- a CBC radio station for the Central Arctic;
- additional radio staff for Goose Bay, Thompson and La Ronge;
- six new "storefront" radio operations; one in northern British Columbia, one in northern Alberta, two in northern Ontario, and two in northern Quebec;
- related production and technical facilities, as well as increased administration staff.[61]

When fully implemented the plan would cost approximately $11.4 million in capital expenditure and $13.3 million in annual operating funds, based on 1984/85 dollars. A five-year phased implementation budget is provided in Table 3.

Table 3: 5-YEAR PHASED IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NORTHERN REGIONAL BROADCASTING PLAN (All figures are in $,000)

YEAR 1

	CAPITAL	OPERATING
	$,000	$,000
Dedicated Northern Transponder	—	1,500
Yellowknife uplink, downlink, associated equipment	287	336
Studio equipment, building renovations, staff (Yellowknife)	1,365	588
2 TV-1 modules in mid-Canada	168	330
2 radio storefronts in mid-Canada	532	721
1 audio uplink in mid-Canada	21	95
1 Omnibus SCPC and associated uplinks/downlinks	10	395
7 community access radio packages	105	9
Administrative support staff, facilities	—	287
	2,488	4,261

YEAR 2

Whitehorse uplink, downlink, associated equipment	260	332
Staff, building additions (Yellowknife)	1,365	588
Studio facilities, staff (Whitehorse)	1,391	949
2 TV-1 modules in mid-Canada	168	330
2 radio storefronts in mid-Canada	256	350
7 community access radio packages	105	9
Administrative support staff, facilities	—	287
	3,545	2,845

YEAR 3

Frobisher Bay uplink, downlink, associated equipment	260	365
Studio facilities, staff (Frobisher)	1,475	1,200
Production facilities, program staff (Yellowknife)	1,365	588
2 TV-1 modules in mid-Canada	168	330
2 radio storefronts in mid-Canada	361	695
7 community access radio packages	105	9
Administrative support staff, facilities	—	287
	3,734	3,474

Source: CBC Northern Native Access: A Northern Policy and Plan. page 60.

The proposal includes one dedicated satellite transponder for mid-Canada and the North to be shared by the CBC and native broadcasters. The proposal claims that the dedicated transponder and new northern CBC operations would allow for increased native programming and native access. However, the same CBC document states that "the long-term solution to the distribtuion of native programming lies in a separate dedicated system,"[61] and it offers options as to how such a system could be managed.

To date, the Minister of Communications has not responded to the Northern Regional Broadcast Plan, and the CBC does not consider it to be among its current priorities.[62]

7.2 The Seneca Proposal

Seneca Communications Inc., a commercial firm with a native corporate staff, has been promoting a new multi-faceted communications service for a number of years. Designed for northern and native markets, the proposed service is part broadcasting, part telecommunications.

As described by Seneca,[63] the system would be based on about 15 to 20 satellite transponders in the fully implemented mode. It would provide mainly point-to-point service to distributors of training and educational services. Some of the satellite channels would be used for two-way services such as video conferencing, interactive educational and governmental communications, and at least one channel would be used to provide entertainment programming. There would be 10 uplink earth stations at first, and 20 to 30 in the future with a larger number of receive-only locations. The network would be controlled by a central computer, which would provide encoding and addressing. In 1984, Seneca estimated that the system would cost roughly $50 million to establish, with an hourly charge of about $6,000 to users.

While the technology exists to implement the Seneca system, questions have been raised about its commercial viability in light of the collapse of some pay-TV operations and the difficulties faced by Cancom. As well, the major telecommunications companies have been reluctant to initiate a venture of this magnitude.

8. ABORIGINAL PEOPLES AND THE CHANGING BROADCASTING ENVIRONMENT

Although television was introduced to many native communities without consultation and with little regard for local or regional input, it has become a popular, permanent fixture in most homes. As the cost of satellite receiving equipment decreases, some native individuals and communities are purchasing their own dishes in order to receive a wider choice of entertainment programming. In some of the more affluent native communities, the home satellite dish and the video cassette recorder (VCR) have become status symbols. The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation estimates that in Rankin Inlet, the administrative centre of the Keewatin (population 1,100; 80 percent Inuit), 75 percent of the homes are equipped with VCRs and 25 percent have home satellite dishes.[64] Northern entrepreneurs are profiting from the boom in VCR and video movie sales. Studies are now under way to determine native viewing patterns when faced with an expanded choice of programming.

In rural and remote parts of Canada, especially mining, logging and government towns, cable services are often available. For example, in Whitehorse, more than 14 television channels are available. Frobisher Bay, a community of 2,500, 80 percent of whom are Inuit, has a cable subscription service offering eight television channels and four radio signals, all from the South, all in English or French, with the exception of some CBC regional programming.

Federal government policy and CRTC regulations have encouraged the spread of television services in underserved parts of Canada. This is likely to continue, despite concerns raised by many native leaders over what they perceive to be the hegenomy of "outside" media.

9. ISSUES AND POLICY PERSPECTIVES

9.1 Native-Language Broadcasting Legislation

> The importance of language rights is grounded in the essential role that language plays in human existence, development and dignity. It is through language that we are able to form concepts; to structure and order the world around us.
>
> Language bridges the gap between isolation and community, allowing humans to delineate the rights and duties they hold in respect to one another, and thus to live in society.
>
> The Supreme Court of Canada, ruling that Manitoba must translate its laws into French. June 13, 1985.

As discussed in Chapter 4.2 of this report, language is regarded by many native people as the cornerstone of their culture, the vade mecum of identity. The enhancement and protection of native languages is considered an aboriginal right by many native leaders.

The *Broadcasting Act* refers to only two languages, French and English, the official languages of Canada. In recent submissions to the CRTC and the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, the majority of the native communications societies called for changes in the *Broadcasting Act* to give the indigenous languages of Canada a status equivalent to French and English. For example, the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation suggested Section 3(e) be changed to:

> All Canadians are entitled to broadcasting service in English and French and **representative aboriginal languages** as public funds become available.[65]

Native broadcasting groups further suggest that Section 3(g)(iii) be revised as follows:

> (g) the national broadcasting service should
>
> (iii) be in English, French **and representative aboriginal languages,** serving the special needs of geographic regions, and actively contributing to the flow and exchange of cultural and regional information and entertainment....[66]

The term 'representative' suggests regional broadcasting services in the dominant aboriginal dialects of those native people concerned with the preservation of their languages.[67]

Aboriginal groups want to entrench native-language services in the *Broadcasting Act* in order to give native broadcasting a solid foundation, removing much of the uncertainty about the future of this sector. Native broadcasters argue that without the weight of legislation, the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada will not gain their rightful place in the Canadian broadcasting system, despite well-intentioned federal policies and regulations.

A legislative mandate for native-language broadcasting services could help raise the profile of programs like the NNBAP that are presently based on ephemeral policies. It could remove much of the anxiety and frustration native broadcasting groups experience as a result of the short-term nature of their funding and the instability of federal program budgets.

Changes to the *Broadcasting Act*, as suggested above, would alter CBC's mandate, strengthening the leadership role it now plays in providing native-language services. This would have the support of most native groups, as long as a large proportion of the programming was produced by independent native communications societies. While the CBC would require some resources to fulfil its expanded mandate, it would not necessarily need the level of funding suggested in the CBC Northern Regional Broadcast Plan (see Chapter 7.1). It would likely be more cost-effective to have most of the native-language programming produced by independent native communications societies. For example, while it is difficult and possibly misleading to compare the budgets of two organizations with vastly different mandates and internal circumstances, the Department of Communications estimates that CBC Northern Service's television production costs are more than 3 1/2 times higher than those of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation; $30,000 per hour, compared to $8,000 per hour.[68] It should be pointed out that considerable progress toward the goal of native-language services has already occurred in the North, and would not likely require substantial new budgetary allocations beyond what is required to sustain the NNBAP. Because native-language use is weaker in the South than in the North, the demand for native-language broadcasting services and the associated expenditures in southern Canada could well be moderate.

There are precedents for considering native languages as the equivalent of official languages of Canada. The following are some examples:

- the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada defined non-official languages as any language other than English, French, Indian or Eskimo;

- CRTC Public Notice 1983-18 and Public Notice 1983-174 dealing with Canadian content refer to programs produced in English, French or native languages;

- CRTC Public Notice 1984-237 concerning hearings on ethnic broadcasting policy suggests that one of four ways of defining ethnic programming is programming in a language other than English, French, or native Canadian;

- Chipewyan, Loucheux, Dogrib, Slavey, Inuktitut and Inuvialuktun have all been recognized as official native languages in the Northwest Territories.

It is suggested that the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy consider recommendations for changes in the* Broadcasting Act *to raise the status of the indigenous languages of Canada, and to give the CBC a clearer mandate with respect to native-language broadcasting services.

9.2 The Distribution of Native Programming

As described in Chapter 6.2.5, distribution has emerged as the most pressing issue with respect to native broadcasting in the North. It is by far the most problematic and therefore, the most contentious area of the Northern Broadcasting Policy. Officials from the Department of the Secretary of State, the Department of Communications and the CRTC are actively working on long-term distribution strategies. Various interest groups have put forward a number of options including the following:

- a dedicated satellite transponder for northern native communications societies shared with the CBC Northern Service;

- use of "down time" on the House of Commons satellite channels;

- use of CBC's satellite capacity to deliver native programming during off-hours for delayed local broadcast ("off-hours downloading");

- rental of occasional-use transponder time by native broadcasters; and

- the establishment of completely separate native distribution systems.

The CBC is the strongest proponent of fully independent native distribution systems, arguing that it has neither the mandate, nor the distribution capacity to increase native access programming beyond present levels. However, this option is easily dismissed on the basis of cost, and by the fact that native broadcasters will be unable to produce enough programming to warrant completely separate distribution systems for many years to come. For example, at current Telesat rates, native broadcasters would have to produce a total of approximately six hours of television per day in order to justify renting a transponder on a full-time basis at approximately $1.5 million per year. Together, native broadcasters now produce about 10 hours of television each week, not accounting for summer re-runs and frequent repeat broadcasts during the fall and winter schedules. Fully independent distribution systems would also require immense expenditures for landlines, uplinks, earth stations and local transmitters.

Almost all native broadcasters rule out the 'off-hours downloading' option as too cumbersome to coordinate and maintain. In addition, this distribution method does not lend itself to time-sensitive news and current affairs programming.

The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation is presently exploring the option of renting time on a Telesat occasional-use transponder (Anik D, Channel "F") in order to distribute programming that cannot be accommodated on the CBC Northern Service regional schedule. Access to CBC local transmitters is still necessary with this alternative. However, the option is dependent on NNBAP funds to cover costs associated with upgrading earth stations that are not already frequency agile and with adaptations required to CBC's cue and control system.

Many northern native broadcasters favour a dedicated northern transponder as the primary means of distribution in the future. This option still necessitates access to local transmitters since it is unlikely the federal government is willing to fund second transmitters in each native community across mid-Canada and the far North. For this option to succeed, many native communities in the northern regions of the provinces that receive television signals via terrestrial systems would have to be equipped with earth stations, at considerable expense.

There are convincing arguments to include the CBC Northern Service on a dedicated northern transponder. Native broadcasters cannot yet produce sufficient quantities of television programming to justify their own transponder and CBC's presence provides an opportunity to utilize the Corporation's cue and control. The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation is the strongest proponent of a dedicated ***northern*** transponder, as opposed to a dedicated ***native*** transponder. Inuit want native-language programming integrated into a single public broadcasting service for the North, not "ghettoized" on a second system where it would have to compete for audiences and scarce federal funds.[69]

It is evident that there is no easy short-term solution to native programming distribution. Native programming distribution is likely to follow a patch-work pattern requiring a variety of access arrangements over the next several years. Local access will continue to be an essential element, and native television distribution will remain the most challenging, and expensive aspects of native broadcasting.

What are the policy implications regarding the distribution of native programming? If the *Broadcasting Act* were amended, as suggested in Chapter 9.1, the case for native regional access would be strengthened. The CBC would have a clear mandate to assume more responsibility in this area, and as funding became available, many of the existing constraints on native programming distribution could be overcome.

In consultation with northern native communications societies and northern broadcasters, the CRTC has begun to explore ways and means of implementing the 'fair access' principle of the Northern Broadcasting Policy. The Task Force may wish to consider recommendations that complement CRTC initiatives in this area.

A number of policy and regulatory recommendations have been put forward by native broadcasters with respect to distribution. In their submission to the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon proposed changes in the *Broadcasting Act* and amendments to Bill C-20 that would empower the CRTC and the Governor-in-Council to direct licencees to provide fair access to independent native producers where necessary.[70]

Something as ill-defined as 'fair access' does not lend itself to legislation. Because there are so many variables from one region of the country to the next , it would not be possible to have a blanket formula or set of criteria to constitute a legal definition of 'fair access.'

Native broadcasters have discovered that the success of distribution negotiations is often dependent on the degree of goodwill and understanding on the part of the northern broadcasters. Here, with respect to private broadcasters, Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon has provided the following recommendation:

> Since the private broadcaster utilizes the airwaves,a common resource of all Canadians, he perhaps should also accept some of the social responsibility of sharing access with local native producers.
>
> The government has in the past used tax incentives to stimulate development in communications and broadcasting. Perhaps tax credits could be given for access time to northern native programming.[71]

In a similar way, incentives could be built around Canadian content requirements. For example, regulations could be developed whereby native-language regional programming would count for double Canadian content.

It is suggested that the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy give consideration to recommendations that include incentives for broadcasters to provide regional access for independent native television and radio production.

Native communications societies would like to see existing federal policy strengthened in order to guarantee what is now de facto control over local transmitters in most native communities. They point to a Therrien Committee recommendation as an appropriate policy direction in this area:

> Any predominantly native community should have the right to decide on the channels to be delivered locally; to eliminate complete channels; and, on any particular channel, to eliminate a program or substitute one of its own choice.[72]

It is suggested that the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy give consideration to recommendations that would allow predominantly native communities, especially Indian reserves, access to local transmitters for the purposes of limiting or substituting programming.

9.3 Extension of Services to Rural and Remote Native Communities

There are still many small rural and remote communities in Canada that do not receive the national broadcasting service. Many of these communities — about 18 in northwestern Ontario alone[73] — are predominantly native and have populations of less than 500, the cut-off point for services under CBC's Accelerated Coverage Plan. Not only are these communities without the national broadcasting service, they may also be denied the local and regional native access programming this service can deliver.

This issue was raised by several native communications societies and the Government of Ontario in recent submissions to the Task Force and the CRTC. One group, Taqramiut Nipingat Inc., pointed to the fact that eight Inuit communities of less than 500 in Northern Quebec purchased their own TVROs and transmitters. According to Taqramiut Nipingat, the capital costs (about $15,000 for each TVRO) placed severe financial strains on the communities involved and, because they could not afford high quality equipment, reception in the eight communities was unreliable.[74]

For its part, the CBC has been forced to halt activity under the Accelerated Coverage Plan due to federal cutbacks and budgetary restraint.

It is suggested that the Task Force consider recommending the extension of CBC's Accelerated Coverage Plan, including the provision of community radio packages to all predominantly native commmunities that request the service, regardless of size.

The Therrien Committee concluded that most native communities are not opposed to mass audience programming, as long as there are culturally appropriate programming alternatives.[75] Accordingly, Therrien recommended that:

> Approval for the introduction of any new satellite service must take into account the essential need to provide, maintain, or expand facilities for community and regional services.[76]

In 1982, Cancom was licensed to satisfy the needs of under-served communities for more mass-audience programming, and, at the same time, to carry native content. However, Cancom's services have been too expensive for most native communities. In the Yukon and in the MacKenzie Region of the Northwest Territories, in order to distribute native radio programming, the federal government has subsidized the cost of receivers in a number of small communities. In Ontario, the province with the

highest Indian population, Cancom only serves one native community.[77] While Cancom has gone some distance toward meeting its obligations to native Canadians, its market orientation raises a fundamental policy question. Should the private broadcasting industry be regulated to provide special services in the interest of the public where such services may not be profitable?

Most northern native communications societies believe that private industry should be regulated to distribute native programming, as a display of corporate citizenship. However, experience has shown that corporate citizenship cannot be forced on the private sector. If Cancom and other private broadcasters are to play a role in the provision of special services to the native population of Canada, it should be profitable for them to do so. Thus, the incentives suggested in Chapter 9.2 may be more viable than regulations.

Regarding the extension of new services in rural and remote parts of Canada, what aboriginal Canadians request is that much greater priority be given to local and regional native-oriented and native-language programming. Invariably, the extension of television services in the North has served the interests of the non-native population. It is unacceptable to most northern native groups that in communities where there is often a large native majority, little or no television programming is available that reflects the language, culture and life-style of that majority. The way to redress this imbalance is suggested by Taqramiut Nipingat Inc.:

> The issue at stake to the Inuit of Northern Québec is...how much public funding will be made available to produce Inuktitut-language radio and television programmes. In view of the small numbers of our population, we are not prepared to advance as a serious proposition, that the same amount of radio and television programming ought to be made available in our language as it is made available (in English and French) to Canadians elsewhere, but we are prepared to suggest that a significant increase...is in order.[78]

In communities and regions where there may only be a relatively small proportion of native people, without priority being given to the provision of at least some alternative to mainstream electronic media, aboriginal languages, cultures — an important heritage of all Canadians — may be seriously jeopardized.

9.4 Broadcasting For and By Native Peoples in the South

Chapters 6.4 and 6.8 suggest that broadcasting for and by native peoples in the South is very limited. The prospects for increasing native-oriented programming are not encouraging. With the cancellation of CBC's *Our Native Land*, the trend is in the opposite direction.

There are no programs on the scale of the NNBAP to fund native broadcast production in the South and few opportunities for native people to gain access to broadcasting distribution systems. While there is some native community radio activity, most notably in the province of Quebec, there are few success stories like Kahnawake Radio at Caughnawaga (see Chapter 6.8).

While no comprehensive studies have been undertaken in the South, there are marked differences between what urban and northern native people want from the broadcasting system. A recent survey of one thousand native people in six large metropolitan areas of Canada came to the following conclusions:

- the best current source for native content in mainstream media is newspapers;
- the preferred language for all types of media is English;
- there is little native content in mainstream radio and television (CBC's *The Beachcombers* was frequently cited as an example of native content on television);
- those polled perceive mainstream media as presenting an unbalanced, stereotyped, negative image of native people although there have been some improvements in recent years;
- the preferred content areas for future native programming are history, elder storytelling, native culture and youth. There is a demand to receive more native news through the mainstream media.[79]

Based on the limited amount of research and consultation that has taken place to date, the following assumptions emerge regarding the broadcasting needs of native people in the South:

- there is a preference for English-language programming among off-reserve Indians in large urban areas;
- interest in native-language programming is stronger at the reserve level. The more removed the reserve is from large urban centres, the higher the native-language retention rate;

- with some exceptions, programming reflecting local and regional interests is the first priority;
- there is a need to improve the image of native people in mainstream media, and to increase their representation within the broadcasting industry;
- many southern native groups would like more opportunities to be involved in the broadcasting industry on a commercial basis.

These assumptions suggest the need to consider different approaches to native broadcasting in the South, as compared to the North. With further research and consultation, some of the following options could prove viable:

- increased native involvement in mainstream broadcasting through regulations and incentive programs. (For example, there could be policies like those in the United States where broadcasters must implement equal employment hiring practices and incentives such as those of the Federal Communications Commission, whereby broadcasters in difficulty are encouraged to sell to minority groups).
- increased support for community radio;
- increased opportunities for access to community cable channels and conventional broadcasters;
- increased native broadcasting training opportunities within the industry and the formal education system;
- increased production funding and improved access to existing programs such as those of Telefilm Canada.

Although there have been no representations to the Task Force from southern native groups on this issue, there is a general concern over the inequitable disbursement of federal resources favouring northern native broadcasting. This has already created rifts among some native organizations, particularly in the western provinces where they claim the artificial northern boundary line (see Figure 1) makes little sense. In British Columbia, for example, there is reason to support the view that the 'north' begins 50 kilometres north of Vancouver, just over the first set of snow-peaked mountains. There is reason to support the view that the Northern Broadcasting Policy, which is essentially a northern native broadcasting

policy, discriminates on the basis of vaguely defined geographic location, a fact that is resented by some native groups in the South.

The Task Force should give consideration to a recommendation for increased support for native broadcasting in the South and a research and consultation process to determine the most appropriate form the support should take.

Changes to the *Broadcasting Act* as suggested in Chapter 9.1 would constitute a more equitable policy approach to native broadcasting throughout Canada. When coupled with increased, and perhaps different forms of support for native broadcasting in the South, there would be much less potential for controversy and divisiveness over boundary lines and the disbursement of public resources.

9.5 Roles and Responsibilities in the Provision of Native Broadcasting Services

The creation of the NNBAP, the first federal program of its size to support native broadcast production, has raised policy questions regarding roles, relationships and responsibilities in the provision of native broadcasting services. Most important, policy regarding the CBC's role, responsibilities and its relationship to independent native broadcasters must be clarified.

The crux of the matter is that the CBC does not wish to integrate independently produced native programming into its regional schedules. As discussed in Chapter 6.4.4, the CBC considers native access programming to be a third level of service; third in priority after national network and CBC-produced regional programming. This position is clearest in a recent CBC submission to the CRTC:

> Ideally, CBC should provide its own native programming proportionate to the population served. Independent native communication societies could provide alternative services so that the public benefits from choice, differing media perspectives and the availability of a full CBC service comparable to other regions of the country.[80]

The position of northern native communications societies is generally consistent on this issue, most taking the view that the CBC should distribute independent native programming as a first priority, and as a second priority, it should produce native programming of its own that complements independent programming. One group that takes a stronger position on this issue is Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. Taqramiut

Nipingat Inc. believes all Inuktitut programming distributed by the CBC should be produced by independent Inuit organizations.[81]

The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation's position on this issue is instructive. The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation submits that the problem rests with CBC's failure to accept the legitimacy of independent native programming, programming that in the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation's view is integral to a northern public broadcasting system serving the Inuit majority population. The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation's position is as follows:

> While there is one national public broadcasting system in Canada, the CBC no longer holds a monopoly on all facets of it. The national public broadcasting system now consists of public, private (as producers) and non-governmental components. It is our conviction that some aspects of public broadcasting can best be provided by non-profit, non-governmental broadcasters, such as IBC. We are providing a service the CBC has admitted it cannot provide. Our role is tied to the devolution of the CBC. We see ourselves, not as a private sector production house for the CBC Northern Service, but rather, as an equal partner in the provision of one northern public broadcasting service.[82]

Conflicting views as to who should produce native programming have been presented by private broadcasters. Cancom is of the view that its own English-language native television programming is more suitable for distribtution than independently produced native-language television. Cancom is willing to accept independent access television programming but it will do so only when more than ten hours of programming "appropriate for its national service" becomes available.[83]

In the context of the above discussion, it is suggested the Task Force consider recommendations that:

(a) give priority to independent native producers and broadcasters for the production of programming for native audiences and programming that reflects native people to other Canadians;

(b) recognizes the integral role of independent native broadcasters in the national public broadcasting system.

9.6 Increased Resources

As indicated in Appendix D, there is growing support for native broadcasting at the provincial and federal levels of government, as well as in the non-governmental sector. However, the future of native broadcasting is threatened by cutbacks and the uncertainty of funding programs at a time when the evidence points to a need for increased support. For example, increased assistance is required in the following critical areas:

Operating Costs. Native broadcasters have indicated that funding levels have not kept pace with the high operating costs in the North: such things as office rent, building supplies and travel are often double the cost of such services in the South.

Housing and Office Space. No capital funds for buildings and no housing subsidies are available under the NNBAP. As a result, most groups have had to contend with crowded work quarters and serious staff housing shortages.

Training. Because there are no media schools in the North and few trained native journalists, producers and technicians, the success of the NNBAP is dependent on training funds supplied by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) to participating native communications societies. In 1984-85 native broadcasting groups received almost $3 million from CEIC's Industrial Training Program. CEIC has since cut back the Industrial Training Program and, as a matter of policy, is not prepared to develop special funding programs for native people. In addition, native broadcasting organizations have not had access to management training programs or the funding to develop their own. This situation presents a very serious threat to the future of native broadcasting.

Distribution. As discussed earlier, distribution has proven more problematic than anticipated, resulting in a major drain on the NNBAP distribution fund, already diminished as a result of cutbacks.

It is evident that if northern broadcasting groups are to develop their potential, and groups from the South are to be given more opportunities, new resources and a higher profile for native broadcasting are required.

While new resources are required, much could be accomplished through the improved coordination and re-orientation of existing funds. For example, in the area of training, CEIC funding could be

ear-marked for native broadcasting each year and coordinated within the NNBAP, saving months of delays and needless paperwork for the native communications societies. There could be a more streamlined coordination of training efforts across the country and more effective use of CBC resources for training.

The production facilities and support services of the CBC and the NFB could be better utilized. Native broadcasters could be encouraged to use the Broadcast Fund of Telefilm for special television productions. Provincial and territorial programs on housing, education and communications could be more effectively put to work in support of native broadcasting.

If native broadcasting were given assurances of long-term funding support, much more could be done to rationalize distribution by making better use of underutilized systems and new communication technology.

It is suggested that the Task Force acknowledge the significant progress that has been made to date under existing policies and programs and consider recommendations to increase support for native broadcasting through a variety of means.

9.7 A Native Voice in Broadcasting Decision Making

> It is certainly high time that Native people and Native broadcasters be permitted to participate in major communications decision making which so deeply affect the languages and cultures of the Native aboriginal people of Canada.[84]
>
> Native Communications Inc. and
> Mikisew Broadcasting Corp. Inc.
> May 1985

It is a major concern of native communications groups to have a much stronger voice in broadcasting decision-making. This concern is underscored by the following:

- there is no native representation on the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy;
- there are no native Commissioners or staff members at the CRTC;

- there is only one native person at the management level in the entire CBC;

- there are no native people working on broadcasting policy within the Department of Communications.

Native groups indicate that although consultation has improved, their power to influence the agenda of the broadcasting industry has not. In recent submissions to the Task Force and the CRTC, there was a consensus among northern native broadcasting groups on the following recommendations:

- that a native person be appointed as a Commissioner of the CRTC;

- that a native person be appointed to the board of directors of the CBC; and

- that a permanent advisory council consisting of representatives selected by native broadcasting societies be formed to assist the CRTC on matters pertaining to native broadcasting.

It is suggested that the Task Force consider recommendations that would substantially strengthen the native voice in broadcasting policy and regulatory matters.

9.8 Television and Native Youth

To date, most of the television programming produced by native broadcasters has been directed at adult viewers. Some of the more experienced broadcasters are beginning to turn their attention to youth programming as a result of requests from concerned parents. It is the youth who are most likely to lose their native languages, according to the Jarvis study,[85] and it is children who are often more susceptible to the influence of mass-audience television. According to the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation:

> It is from television that they (Inuit children) develop role models and notions about the world beyond their home environment. It is estimated that Inuit children watch between four and five hours of television each day. With few organized activities and services such as day care and pre-school, young Inuit children may be exposed to as much as eight hours of television daily.[86]

Native groups are concerned about the impact of the present fare of children's programming judged to be of high quality by non-native standards. The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation raised this point in a recent proposal:

> While there is, undoubtedly, some educative value in such programs as "Bobino" and "Mr. Dress-up", learning is completely removed from the cultural and environmental context of the Inuit child. There is a strong case to be made that many of these programs distort the culturally-based perceptions of Inuit reality and undermine traditional values associated with such things as child rearing, family structure, humour and co-operation. Indeed, the sheer volume alone of English-language programming underlines the need for a culturally sensitive alternative, one that promotes a positive Inuit cultural identity using role models that Inuit children can relate to.[87]

In order to produce quality youth programming, native broadcasters are faced with high costs and the need to develop production expertise in this specialized area. Funding under the NNBAP may not be sufficient to sustain children's television production unless native broadcasters cut back or abandon other forms of programming. The need for appropriate native youth programming and the funds to produce it is an emerging issue, likely to assume increased importance in the years to come.

Although specific proposals concerning native youth programming have not been presented to the Task Force, the following options have been discussed by the native broadcasters most concerned with this issue:

- increased federal funding through the NNBAP for children's programming;
- priority access to the Broadcast Fund administered by Telefilm Canada;
- a requirement that a Pay-TV youth service, should it be licenced, direct a portion of its revenues to the production of native youth programming in cooperation with independent native broadcasters;
- a requirement that the CBC and provincial educational broadcasters be required to produce native youth programming in cooperation with independent native broadcasters.

It is suggested that the Task Force give consideration to policy recommendations designed to stimulate the production and distribution of quality television programming by native producers aimed at native youth.

10. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Broadcasting has a central role to play in the development of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada. Ten years ago, many native communities were without television. Today, satellite dishes can be found in the most remote native communities of Canada, from Old Crow in the Yukon, to Grise Fiord in the High Arctic. Unlike other forces of change, broadcasting has penetrated the last refuge of native culture, the home.

Broadcasting is a powerful instrument among a powerless people. It can be used to bring the gift of information, entertainment and enlightenment in a way that strengthens indigenous languages, culture and identity. But it can also lead to acculturation, and destroy a unique and valued part of Canadian heritage.

As a matter of public policy, the Government of Canada has taken steps to ensure that native Canadians have the opportunity to develop, for themselves, alternatives to mainstream electronic media. As indicated in this report, the policies and programs of recent years have given native broadcasting a new impetus. Yet, faced with an exponential growth in mass-audience programming, there is a prevailing sense that stronger measures are required if native people are to gain a respected place in the Canadian broadcasting system.

11. NOTES

1. Unless otherwise indicated, all aboriginal population statistics referred to in this section of the paper are based on the 1981 Census of Canada and appear in *1981 Census Highlights on Registered Indians: Annotated Tables.* Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1985.

2. The *Indian Act*, first passed in 1876 and later revised in 1880 and 1951, is the federal legislation that spells out the responsibilities of the Government of Canada toward Aboriginal Peoples.

3. Government of the Northwest Territories. *NWT Data Book 84/85.* Yellowknife: Outcrop, 1984, p.40.

4. Hudson, Heather E. "The Need for Native Broadcasting in Northern Canada: A Review of Research." Ottawa: Native Citizens Directorate, Secretary of State, 1985, p.6.

5. Applebaum, Hébert et al. *Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee.* Ottawa: Department of Communications, 1982, p.11.

6. Ibid., p.11.

7. See Chapter 5.4 for further details.

8. "Inuvialuit Communications Society Presentation to the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy." Edmonton, September 6, 1985, pp. 1, 3.

9. Inuit Broadcasting Corporation. *Position Paper on Northern Broadcasting (Revised, October 1985).* Ottawa: Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, 1985, p. 5.

10. Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon. "Special representation to the CRTC." Vancouver, December 14, 1982, pp. 4, 5.

11. Foster, M. *"Indigenous Languages (by Family) in Canada and Adjoining Areas: Approximate Numbers of Speakers and Chances of Survival."* Chart published by the Commissioner of Official Languages, Ottawa: 1984.

12. Ibid.

13. For examples, see the following:

> Hudson, Heather E. ("The Need for Native Broadcasting in Northern Canada: A Review of Research.") Ottawa: Native Citizens Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State, 1985, p.3.
>
> Granzberg, G. and Steinbring, J. "Television and the Canadian Indian." Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg, 1980.
>
> Watson, L. "Television Among Inuit of Keewatin: The Rankin Inlet Experience." Ottawa: Department of Communications, 1977.

14. Jarvis, George K. *Changes in Language Use Among Native Peoples of Canada.* Ottawa: Native Citizens Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State, 1984, pp. 4, 13.

15. Briefing notes on the "Northern Native Broadcast Access Program," Native Citizens Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State, 1985, p.7.

16. Native Peoples Support Group of Newfoundland and Labrador. "Presentation to the Task Force on the Canadian Broadcasting System" by A. Tanner, St. John's, August 27, 1985, p. 4.

17. Canada. *Report of the Special Committee on Indian Self-Government.* Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1983, p.15.

18. Lougheed, K. *Broadcasting Plan for Northern Labrador.* Nain: Okalakatiget Society, 1984, pp. 3, 117, 118.

19. Canada. "Northern Native Broadcast Access Program Operations Review." Ottawa: Native Citizens Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State, 1985.

20. Australia. *Out of the Silent Land. Report of the Task Force on Aboriginal and Islander Broadcasting and Communications.* Canberra: Department of Aboriginal Affairs, 1984, p.114.

21. Examples of research papers that promote this view are:

> Feaver, P. Charles. *The Politics of the Introduction of Television to the Canadian North. MA* Thesis, Ottawa: Institute of Canadian Studies, Carleton University, 1976.
>
> Roth, L.F. *The Role of Communcation Projects and Inuit Participation in the Formulation of Communication Policy for the North.* MA Thesis, Montreal: Graduate Program in Communications, McGill University, 1982.
>
> Valaskakis, G. "Communication and control in the Canadian north - The potential of interactive satellites." *Inuit Studies.* Vol. 6, no. 1, 1982.

22. Stiles, J. Mark. "Communications and Information Technologies and the Education of Canada's Native Peoples." *New Technologies in Canadian Education.* Toronto: Office of Development Research, TVOntario, 1984, pp. 10,11.

23. Diubaldo, Richard J., and S.J. Scheinberg." A Study of Canadian - American Defence Policy (1945-1975) — Northern Issues and Strategic Resources." Operational Research and Analysis Establishment (ORAE), Extra — Mural Paper No. 6. Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 1978, p. 81.

24. Mayes, Robert G. *Mass Communication and Eskimo Adaptation in the Canadian Arctic.* MA Thesis, Department of Geography, Montreal: McGill University, 1972, p. 93.

25. Roth, L.F. *The Role of Communication Projects and Inuit Participation in the Formulation of Communication Policy for the North.* 1982, p. 28.

26. Hudson, Heather. *Department of Communications, Northern Pilot Project, First Year Evaluation.* Ottawa: Department of Communications, 1973.

27. Stiles, J. Mark. "Communication and Information Technologies and the Education of Canada's Native Peoples." p. 16.

28. Ward, Douglas. "CBC Northern Service." Presentation to the CRTC, Hull, October 1978, p. 6.

29. Therrien, R. et al. *The 1980s. A Decade of Diversity. Broadcasting, Satellites, and Pay TV.* Report of the Committee on Extension of Service to Northern and Remote Communities. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1980, pp. 3, 22, 24, 27.

30. Ibid., p. 27.

31. Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission. *Decision CRTC 81-252*, April 14, 1981.

32. Ibid.

33. Canada. *Towards A New National Broadcasting Policy.* Ottawa: Department of Communications, March 1, 1983.

34. Department of Communications. "Discussion Paper: Northern Broadcasting." Ottawa: Department of Communications, February 18, 1983, pp. 25, 27, 29.

35. Press Release. "Northern Broadcasting Policy." Ottawa: Department of Communications, March 10, 1983.

36. Ibid.

37. Native Citizens Directorate. "Northern Native Broadcast Access Program." Unpublished briefing notes, Department of the Secretary of State, Ottawa, revised May 1985, p. 4.

38. Ibid., pp. 3, 4.

39. Ibid., pp. 2, 3.

40. Ibid., p. 6

41. Ibid., p. 9.

42. Ibid., p.1.

43. Québec. "Programme d'aide aux communications en milieu autochtone." Québec: Ministère de communications, 1985.

44. Telephone interview with Gordon Big Canoe, Native Citizens Directorate, Hull, September 24, 1985.

45. Letter from Peter Pearson, then Program Director of Telefilm Canada, to Rosemarie Kuptana, President, Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, October 16, 1984.

46. Telephone interview with Austin Curley, CBC Northern Service, Ottawa, September 30, 1985.

47. Baer, Nicole. "CBO news chief resigns as furore grows over Our Native Land." A Canadian Press story, Ottawa: *The Citizen,* September 28, 1985.

48. Ibid.

49. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. "Comments of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in Response to CRTC Public Notice: Call for Comments Respecting Northern Native Broadcasting CRTC 1985-87." Ottawa: CBC Corporate Affairs, May 23, 1985, p. iii.

50. Ibid., p. iii.

51. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. "CBC Northern Native Access A Northern Policy and Plan." Ottawa: CBC Corporate Affairs, 1984, pp. 44-48.

52. Stiles, J. Mark. "Communications and Information Technologies and the Education of Canada's Native Peoples." *New Technologies in Canadian Education.* p. 28.

53. Ibid., p. 29.

54. Ontario. "*Northern Native Broadcasting. Response of the Ontario Government to CRTC Public Notice 1985-67 Call for Comments Respecting Northern Native Broadcasting.*" Toronto: Ministry of Transportation and Communication, May 1985, p. 4.

55. Ibid., p. 17.

56. Canada. *Native Media Survey. Discussion Draft.* Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State, September 1985, pp. 8-12.

57. Canadian Satellite Communications Inc. "Submission in response to the CRTC Public Notice 1985-67 Call for Comments Respecting Northern Native Broadcasting." May 23, 1985, p. 8.

58. Ibid., p. 8.

59. Ibid., p. 7.

60. Telephone interview with Conway Jocks, one of the founders of Kahnawake Radio, September 24, 1985.

61. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. "CBC Northern Native Access: A Northern Policy and Plan." pp. 56-59.

62. Telephone interview with Douglas Ward, Vice-President, Regional Broadcasting, CBC, Ottawa, October 2, 1985.

63. Presentation by Seneca to Department of Communications' staff, February 1984, Ottawa.

64. Inuit Broadcasting Corporation. *Position Paper on Northern Broadcasting (Revised, October 1985).* p. 31.

65. Ibid., p. 18.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Department of Communications. "Discussion Paper Northern Broadcasting." Ottawa: Department of Communications, February 18, 1983, p. 33.

69. Ibid., p. 19, and "Response to CRTC's Call for Comments Respecting Northern Native Broadcasting." Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, May 24, 1985, p. 6.

70. Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon. "Presentation to the Federal Task Force on Broadcasting Policy." August 21, 1985, p. 6.

71. Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon. "Submission to the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission Regarding Public Notice CRTC 1985-67." May, 1985, p. 15.

72. Therrien, R. et al. *The 1980's: A Decade of Diversity.* p. 27.

73. Ontario, "Northern Native Broadcasting." p. 6.

74. Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. "Presentation to the Federal Task Force on Canadian Broadcasting Policy." September 5, 1985, p.1.

75. Therrien, R. et al. *The 1980's: A Decade of Diversity.* pp. 26, 27.

76. Ibid., p. 3.

77. Ontario. "Northern Native Broadcasting." p. 11.

78. Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. "Response to Call for Comments Respecting Northern Native Broadcasting by the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC 1985-67)." May 24, 1985, p. 15.

79. Canada. *Native Media Survey. Discussion Draft.* pp. 3.2-3.11.

80. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. "Comments of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in Response to CRTC Public Notice 1985-67." p. 11.

81. Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. "Response to Call for Comments Respecting Northern Native Broadcasting." p.19.

82. Inuit Broadcasting Corporation *Position Paper, 1985.* p. 19.

83. Canadian Satellite Communications Inc. "Comments by Canadian Satellite Communications Inc. Respecting Northern Native Broadcasting, Public Notice CRTC 1985-76." p. 8.

84. Native Communications Inc. and Mikisew Broadcasting Corporation, Inc. "CRTC Public Notice 1985-67 Call for Comments Respecting Northern Native Broadcasting." Thompson, Manitoba, May 24, 1985, p. 7.

85. Jarvis, George. *Changes in Language Use Among Native Peoples of Canada.* p. 13.

86. Inuit Broadcasting Corporation. "A Research and Development Proposal for Inuit Children's Educational Television." Ottawa: Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, 1984, p. 1.

87. Ibid., p. 3.

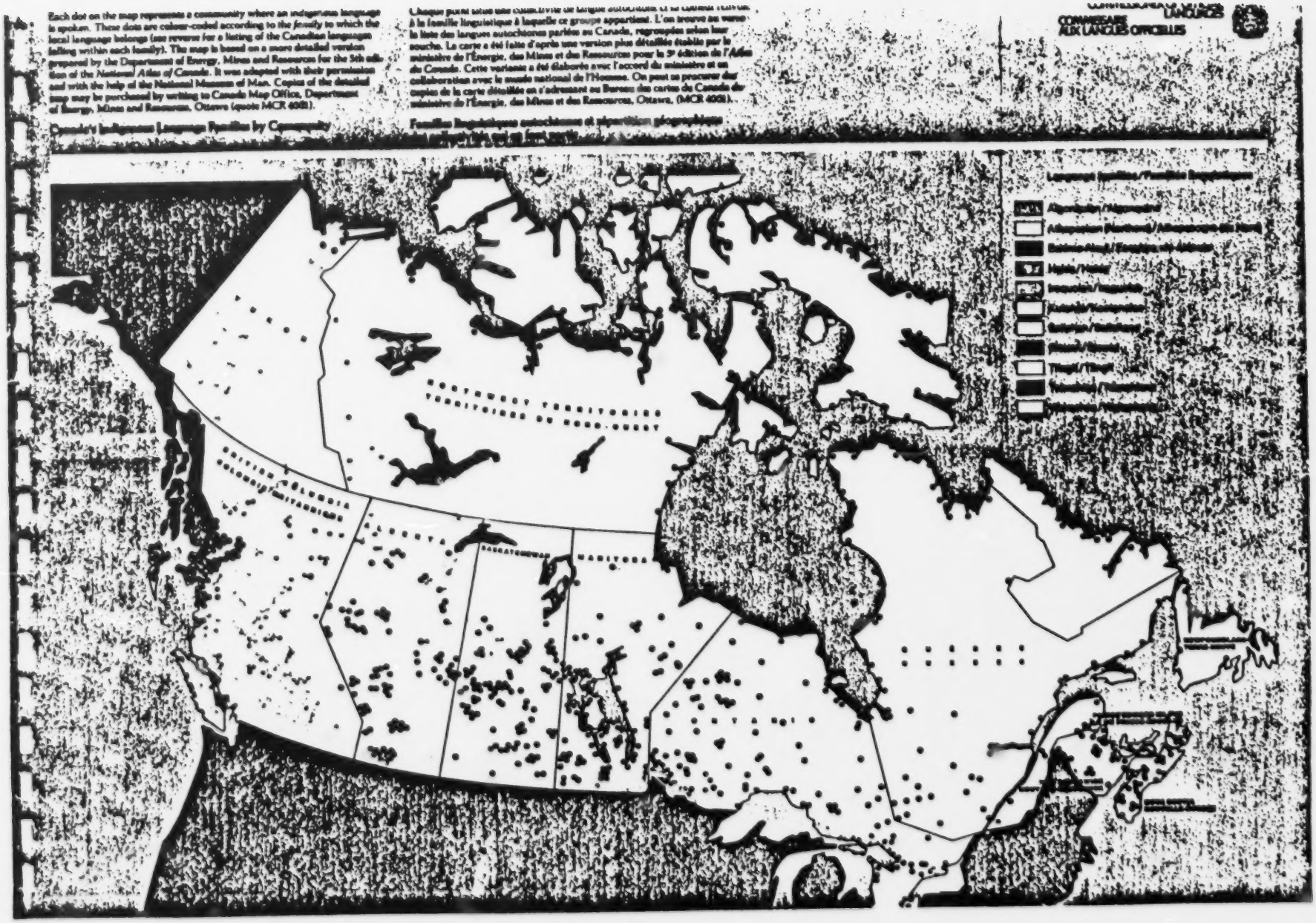
APPENDIX A

Canada's Indigenous Languages by Community

APPENDIX B

Native Broadcasting Societies: Regional Distribution Profiles

Source: Native Citizens Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State, October, 1985


Each dot on the map represents a community where an indigenous language is spoken. These dots are colour-coded according to the *family* to which the local language belongs (see reverse for a listing of the Canadian languages falling within each family). The map is based on a more detailed version prepared by the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources for the 5th edition of the *National Atlas of Canada*. It was adapted with their permission and with the help of the National Museum of Man. Copies of the detailed map may be purchased by writing to Canada Map Office, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Ottawa (quote MCR 4081).
Canada's Indigenous Language Families by Community
Chaque point situe une collectivité de langue autochtone et la couleur l'associe à la famille linguistique à laquelle ce groupe appartient. L'on trouve au verso la liste des langues autochtones parlées au Canada, regroupées selon leur souche. La carte a été faite d'après une version plus détaillée établie par le ministère de l'Énergie, des Mines et des Ressources pour la 5e édition de l'*Atlas du Canada*. Cette version a été élaborée avec l'accord du ministère et en collaboration avec le musée national de l'Homme. On peut se procurer des copies de la carte détaillée en s'adressant au Bureau des cartes du Canada du ministère de l'Énergie, des Mines et des Ressources, Ottawa, (MCR 4081).
Familles linguistiques autochtones et répartition géographique
COMMISSARIAT AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES
OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

INUIT BROADCASTING CORPORATION (Television)

Location: Frobisher Bay, Northwest Territories

Distributor: CBC (Northern Service)

Time Used: 5.5 hours (Variable Time Slots)

Time Available: 5.5 hours (Variable Time Slots)

Method of Distribution: Programs are produced and fed via a satellite uplink in Frobisher on the CBC Northern Service and broadcast to 40 communities with a population of 20,000 Inuit in the Eastern and Central Arctic, including Northern Quebec and Labrador.

Live programming is complemented with programs produced in Igloolik, Baker Lake, Cambridge Bay and Eskimo Point.

IBC also distributes programs produced by Taqramiut Nipingat Inc. (TNI) and Okalakatiget.

Strength: Professional quality service and broadcast signals to the Inuit communities.

Weakness: The major problem has been the time-slots available for IBC programming. At the beginning, access was only available late at night after the normal broadcast day of the regular CBC service. IBC was able to negotiate better time periods for the past year but is still seeking access during prime-time viewing hours. The CBC also uses the Northern Service satellite channel to feed its programming to regional centres across Canada. Thus, providing IBC with prime-time access poses a major scheduling problem. IBC's prime-time programming now is subject to frequent pre-emptions.

Remarks: The solution may lie in a proposal now being negotiated. The proposal would see IBC accessing an occasional-use satellite channel on the Anik D satellite. This would allow for a system of program substitution. In other words, the CBC TV schedule would remain intact but the programs received in the Inuit communities would be those produced by IBC.

A number of technical changes would be required for this system to be implemented, such as equipping satellite receiving dishes in most communities with frequency agility in order for them to receive the occasional-use satellite signal. Negotiations are proceeding to determine the time available on the occasional-use channel, and the programs the CBC will allow to be substituted. The NNBAP would fund the cost of implementing the system.

TAQRAMIUT NIPINGAT INC. (Television)

Location: Salluit, Quebec

Distributor: Agreement with the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation to distribute its programs via the satellite uplink in Frobisher Bay via the CBC (Northern Service).

Time Used: 2.5 hours (Variable Time slots)

Time Available: 2.5 hours

Method of Distribution: Programs are pre-taped and shipped by air to Frobisher Bay for broadcast via satellite.

Strength: Professional technical quality via the CBC Northern Television Service.

Weakness: Can only accommodate pre-taped programming. Current breaking news and information face time delays because of shipping the tapes by air to Frobisher Bay.

Remarks: Reliant on outcome of IBC/CBC access negotiations. Problem could be resolved with the installation of a satellite uplink in Salluit. The satellite uplink and access to the occasional-use transponder may be implemented in 1986 or 1987 and would resolve most current problems.

TAQRAMIUT NIPINGAT INC. (Radio)

Location: Salluit, Quebec

Distributor: Access agreement with the CBC (Northern Service)

Time Used: 1:30 to 2:00 p.m. Monday to Friday.

Time Available: 1:00 to 2:00 p.m. Monday to Friday. (More time available subject to negotiation with CBC.)

Method of Distribution: Programs are produced in the Salluit production centre and fed via telephone line to Montreal. The CBC feeds the program to its satellite and shortwave distribution system. Five communities receive the program via satellite, eight by shortwave.

Local Access: TNI has access to all community FM stations. Some feed the CBC shortwave service on the FM stations.

Strength: TNI radio programming is received in five communities via satellite. Under the circumstances, it is the best possible service available.

Weakness: The major problem is the telephone link from Salluit to Montreal. Technical improvements are expected to improve the quality of the telephone line in the near future. Microwave is not feasible. Satellite sub-carrier may be possible when a satellite uplink is installed in Salluit. The other weakness is that the CBC service is limited in that its satellite signal is not received in all communities in Northern Quebec. The shortwave signal is unreliable.

NORTHERN NATIVE BROADCASTING, YUKON (Radio)

Location: Whitehorse, Yukon

Distributor: Cancom

Time Used: 25 hours per week, increasing to 12 hours per day, 60 hours per week in January.

Time Available: 24 hours per day, seven days per week.

Method of Distribution: NNBY has access to a 15 Khz high level bandwidth channel via Cancom (dedicated). They have an audio uplink provided by Cancom located in Whitehorse. NNBY delivers its signal via a dedicated broadcast loop from studios to the uplink and another line to the transmitter. NNBY delivers its signal to seven communities now and the remaining seven by December 1985. NNBY intends to increase programming to almost 12 hours per day. NNBY is now on from 7 a.m.-12:30 p.m. with a mixture of English and native-language programming.

Local Access: Each community is downlinked and has provided its own transmitter for rebroadcasting. Some community radio stations are established.

Strength: Full-time access allows for full-time regional network programming.

Weakness: NNBY has had to put receiving equipment in all of their communities. Access depends on the economic stability of Cancom.

SOCIÉTÉ DE COMMUNICATION ATIKAMEKW-MONTAGNAIS (Radio)

Location: Village Huron, Quebec

Distributor: CBC Northern Service

Time used: 9:30 a.m. - 12:00 a.m., and 5:00 p.m. - 5:30 p.m. for a total of 15 hours per week.

Time available: 5 more hours/week, for a possible total of 20 hours/week.

Method of distribution: Radio programs are recorded and produced out of La Tuque (Atikamekw), Sept-Iles (Montagnais) and Village Huron (Atikamekw and Montagnais). Programs are sent via telephone lines from La Tuque and Sept-Iles to Village Huron (master control) and then to CBC Quebec City and on to CBC Northern Service in Montreal. The CBC broadcasts these programs on satellite and on shortwave.

Strength: Professional quality of distribution via the CBC.

Weakness: The quality of the telephone lines between La Tuque and Village Huron and between Sept-Iles and Village Huron is still not "broadcast quality" (only 2.7 Khz). This should be resolved before Christmas 1985 (becoming 5 Khz).

Remarks: The CBC used to provide time on a telephone line between CBV (CBC Quebec City) and CBC Montreal at no cost to SOCAM. The Society has to pay all distribution costs now.

The CBC is trying to get the Wednesday, 6 p.m.-7 p.m. time-slot for native television distribution. SOCAM has to receive a positive response as soon as possible, in time for their 1986-87 Radio & T.V. operational proposal.

WAWATAY NATIVE COMMUNICATIONS SOCIETY (Radio)

Location: Sioux Lookout, Ontario

Distributor: The WaWaTay Radio Network has a distribution agreement with TVOntario to distribute its programming via a sub-carrier on the TVOntario satellite distribution system.

Time Used: 4 hours per day, plus 1 1/2 hours every Thursday evening for a music show and additional time during special on-location broadcasts.

Time Available: 24 hours a day.

Method of Distribution: The WaWaTay Radio Network has an uplink in Sioux Lookout from where they broadcast the first hour of their program live to the eastern time zone. It is then recorded and replayed for the central time zone.

Local Access: The WaWaTay radio signal is delivered to all the communities in northern Ontario that have their own community radio station and a TVRO provided by Northern Affairs (Ontario) for the reception of TVOntario. The radio signal is picked off and broadcast by the local community radio stations.

Strength: The WaWaTay Radio Network has access to the sub-carrier on a 24 hour basis.

Weakness: The WaWaTay Radio signal can only be delivered to those communities that have community radio, and that have a TVRO from the Ontario government.

Remarks: WaWaTay has been complaining that the cost of the uplink in Sioux Lookout is high; $73,000 in fiscal year 1985-86. Negotiating a distribution system for WaWaTay television will not be as easy as it was to negotiate a sub-carrier for radio programming.

MIKISEW BROADCASTING CORPORATION (Television)

Location: Thompson, Manitoba

Distributor: The Mikisew Broadcasting Corporation has an agreement with the CBC, Manitoba region, to distribute its programs on the northern leg of the CBC television system in northern Manitoba. This is done in conjunction with Mikisew Morning, an audio-with-pictures program on the same network.

Time Used: 15-30 minutes per week for television and two hours daily for the morning radio show on the same network.

Time Available: According to the present agreement with the CBC, the time-slot of 7:00 a.m. - 9:00 a.m. on CBC television is available for Mikisew radio broadcasts but, of this, only 15-30 minutes per week is available for television.

Method of Distribution: The programs are produced in Thompson at the Mikisew television studios and shipped by air to Winnipeg where they are broadcast on the northern leg of the CBC television system.

Strength: According to the research which was done prior to developing this native-language programming, Manitoba North, the forerunner of the present Mikisew Morning radio show, was popular.

Weakness: There are certain groups of people who may not listen to programming because it is scheduled early in the morning. These include children, who represent an important potential audience. Expansion for more time and to better time-slots is very uncertain.

MISSINIPI BROADCASTING CORP. (Radio)

Location: La Ronge, Saskatchewan

Distributor: CBC

Time used: I p.m - 2 p.m: Monday-Friday
Weekly total: 5 hours

Time available: As of October 5th, 1985: 1 more hour/week (Saturday 1 p.m - 2 p.m)
Tentative, as of January 1986: 1 more hour/week (Saturday, 3 p.m - 4 p.m)
Possible weekly total as of January 1986: 7 hours

Method of distribution: Programs are produced and sent via a telephone line to CBC Keewatin Kountry, located in La Ronge. The programs are aired using the CBC's microwave system.

Strength: Professional quality of distribution via the CBC Keewatin Kountry regional network.

Weakness: Five native communities do not have access to CBC radio reception because there are no transmitters in their area.

Remarks: Missinipi's distribution would be much improved if CBC were to extend its radio coverage to all 44 native communities of Northern Saskatchewan.

NATIVE COMMUNICATIONS SOCIETY OF THE WESTERN N.W.T. (Radio)

Location: Yellowknife, Northwest Territories

Distributor: Cancom

Time Used: On-air Nov. 1, 1985 with 25 hours per week minimum and 60 hours per week maximum.

Time Available: 24 hours per day, 7 days per week (full time).

Brief Description: NCSWNWT accesses Cancom's transponder for a full-time, multi-channel service which is carried on Anik D satellite. They will serve a total of 28 communities; 12 initially and the remainder as funds become available for local earth stations.

NCSWNWT plans to broadcast five hours per day of programming originating from NCS staff, another 7 hours per day of community radio programming and music. Later, as the system is in place, the remaining hours may be used to re-broadcast CBC-FM.

Method of Distribution: NCSWNWT has a landline which runs from their studio to the Telesat dish site near the CBC studios in Yellowknife. The GNWT has provided receiving and transmitting equipment in 10 small native communities. NCSWNWT has put transmission equipment in at its Yellowknife station for Yellowknife and Dettah audiences.

Local Access: A number of the communities NCS serves have community radio stations. However, they operate on a sporadic basis, relying on volunteers. In some cases, the community owns its radio station outright, and in other cases it is co-sited with the CBC. NCS intends to encourage communities to produce their own programs for re-broadcast on the network.

Strength: NCSWNWT has full-time access to a regional network system. NCSWNWT can arrange for whatever local access time communities wish.

Weakness: Some communities do not have the equipment to receive Cancom, so NCSWNWT has to start from scratch to hook them up. NCSWNWT has to sell some communities on the idea of getting the Cancom signal. Distribution for local access is expensive. NCSWNWT has to rely on communities to fundraise to purchase transmitters. NCSWNWT is also dependent on Cancom's economic stability.

INUVIALUIT COMMUNICATIONS SOCIETY (Television)

Location: Inuvik, Northwest Territories

Distributor: CBC Northern Service

Time Used: As of September 18, 1985, ICS uses 15 minutes per week on the CBC Northern Sercvice schedule. In January 1986 this will be increased to 30 minutes per week.

Time Available: Negotiable.

Brief Description: ICS broadcasts every Wednesday night from 8:15-8:30. The majority of programs are broadcast in Inuvialuktun. ICS serves six communities including Paulatuk, Sachs Harbour, Holman Island, Tuktoyaktuk, Inuvik and Aklavik. The programs are cultural and information-oriented.

Method of Distribution: ICS sends its tapes by airfreight to Toronto where programs are uplinked to CBC's transponder C, Anik D.

Strength: ICS does not have to put any distribution equipment into the communities.

Weakness: ICS's programming has been and can continue to be pre-empted at CBC's behest. This makes it difficult for ICS to build up a regular audience. ICS has difficulty getting satisfactory times. Access hours are limited.

OKALAKATIGET COMMUNICATIONS SOCIETY (Television)

Location: Nain, Labrador

Distributor: IBC via CBC Northern Service.

Okalakatiget has an agreement with the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation to broadcast its programs via the CBC Northern Service.

Time Used: .4 hours per month.

Time Available: Negotiable, but limited.

Method of Distribution: TV programs are produced and taped in the Nain production center and shipped to Frobisher Bay for broadcast on the IBC uplink.

Strength: Professional technical quality of service and signal via the CBC Northern Service.

Weakness: The Okalakatiget Society can only accommodate pre-taped programs. Current breaking news and information face time delays because of shipping. Some of the smaller Labrador coastal communities do not receive CBC Northern Service TV. Tape shipment to Frobisher Bay is risky due to unreliable plane service.

OKALAKATIGET COMMUNICATIONS SOCIETY (Radio)

Location: Nain, Labrador

Distributor: Access agreement with the CBC.

Time Used: 1:00 to 2:00 p.m. Wednesday and Friday.

Time Available: 1:00 to 2:00 p.m. Monday to Friday. (To be used by November 1985.)

Method of Distribution: Programs are fed via a microwave line to CBC Goose Bay. CBC Goose Bay feeds the program to the community low-powered relay transmitters via satellite. The microwave link is also connected to community FM stations along the Labrador coast.

Strength: Professional quality service and signal strength.

Weakness: Not all communities receive CBC service. Some of the communities do not yet have community FM stations. Once the community FM stations are in full operation, Okalakatiget will have access availability up to 24 hours per day and distribution will not be determined by an outside agency. There are many Inuit residents in Happy Valley who cannot receive service. Studies are now underway to determine how to serve those native residents with Okalakatiget programming.

The major weakness in the current system is the time-slot of 1:00 to 2:00 p.m. This is the worst time-slot of the broadcast day according to the audience survey.

Access in prime-time, from 7:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m., is not available with the CBC. When the community FM stations become fully operational, Okalakatiget will be able to broadcast in prime-time. The only problem then will be competition with the CBC for the radio audience.

JAMES BAY CREE COMMUNICATIONS SOCIETY (Radio)

Location: Mistassini Lake, Quebec

Distributor: CBC (Northern Service)

Time used: 4:05 p.m. - 5 p.m.: Monday-Friday.
Weekly total: 4 hours, 35 minutes.

Time available: 5 more hours/week.
Possible weekly total: 9 hours, 35 minutes.

Method of distribution: Programs are pre-taped and sent via telephone line from Mistassini Lake to CBC Northern Service, Montreal. The 55 minutes/week produced in Algonquin is pre-taped and sent by courier service from Val d'Or to Montréal.

Strength: Professional technical quality of distribution via the CBC.

Weakness: The quality of the telephone line between Mistassini Lake and Montreal is mediocre. Ideally, the Society should uplink from Mistassini Lake.

Remarks: Bad electrical system in Mistassini Lake creates a "hum" on an occasional basis.

ABORIGINAL RADIO & TELEVISION SOCIETY (Television)

Location: Slave Lake, Alberta. (Temporarily located in Edmonton.)

Distributor: The CBC, Alberta region has agreed to allow ARTS the use of the televison audio channel in northern Alberta for one hour each morning in the same fashion as Mikisew in northern Manitoba.

Time Used: Not in production yet.

Time Available: At present, the time being offered is 8:00 a.m. - 9:00 a.m., seven days a week.

Method of Distribution: The programs will be produced at a production centre in Slave Lake in northern Alberta and fed by land lines to the CBC control room in Edmonton from where the programs are fed on the audio channel of the television system.

Strength: Professional quality service and signal strength.

Weakness: There is some question as to the audience potential for radio programs in the television medium in the morning. Unlike Mikisew Morning in northern Manitoba, research did not indicate that people watched a specific program on that channel early in the morning although the prime-time for listening to the radio was in the mornings.

Remarks: Alberta was a very difficult area in which to negotiate distribution. In addition to its technical difficulties (due mainly to the lack of a system serving only the native communities in the northern parts of the province), ARTS had to deal with the poor reputation of its forerunner.

NATIVE COMMUNICATIONS SOCIETY, NORTHERN BROADCASTING (Radio)

Location: Terrace, British Columbia.

Distributor: Phase 1: CBC Prince Rupert.
Phase 2: seven private stations: Terrace, Smithers, Burns Lake, Prince George, Williams Lake, Ft. Nelson, Ft. St. John (Mackenzie, Dawson Creek).
Phase 3: possibly satellite (Cancom, Knowledge Network.)

Time Used: CBC: December 7: one hour per week (still negotiating).
January: one hour per day (still negotiating).
Private Stations: one hour per week each station.
NCSNB expects to be up to 20 hours per week or more by the end of May 1986.

Time Available: Negotiable, but limited.

Method of Distribution: There is a telephone line from Terrace studio to CBC Prince Rupert and tapes are bicycled to private stations.

Brief Description: NCSNB has a letter of intent from CBC Prince Rupert regarding distribution to cover approximately 40 or more communities when they go on air in December. CBC does not cover all the communities in the southern part of the region and because of the diversity of languages spoken in these areas, NCSNB is supplementing this programming with distribution through seven or more private stations. Negotiations have already begun. Private stations will also help to cover the northeast section of their region as well. For the far North and mid-northern sections of the region, NCSNB is investigating satellite distribution, as well as an FM community radio system.

Local Access: There are few, if any local radio stations for native programming. NCSNB does not have the funds to support community radio but is prepared to assist communities that wish to start local radio on their own.

Weakness: There does not appear to be a way to reach all communities in the region with a single distribution system. NCSNB may have to pay private stations for air time.

APPENDIX C

Statements Supporting Native Broadcasting in Canada

I want to emphasize that in our concern for the preservation of a Canadian television presence, we must not lose sight of the impact that white, southern programming has had on the fragile native cultures of the North. As a result, I have asked my Department of Communications to get together with the Secretary of State, Indian and Northern Affairs, NFB, the CRTC and the CBC, to urgently prepare a series of options, for discussions with northern native organizations, to encourage the development of native expertise in television production and to put in place the hardware necessary for local access and regional distribution.

Hon. David MacDonald,
Minister of Communications and
Secretary of State.
Statement to the Standing
Committee on Broadcasting,
Film and Assistance to the Arts,
November 29, 1979

It is particulary important that Native people have access to communications giving the aboriginal perspective during a time when such issues as self-government, aboriginal title and equality rights are being debated.

Hon. Benoit Bouchard,
Secretary of State.
News Release concerning
Revitalization of Native
Communications Program,
September 9, 1985

I am particulary pleased by the success thus far of the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program, not only because it is providing employment to 250 native people but because it is a moving force in the North.

I am deeply aware that a sense of urgency accompanies the present efforts of northern natives to revitalize and protect their languages. Increasingly, the Government of Canada has shown more awareness of the fact that if these languages and cultures are lost in northern Canada, then the special cultural heritage of all Canadians will be gone with them too. We have to make sure that this doesn't happen. There is no other homeland for the native and Inuit people but here in Canada where they originated and are maintained.

Because of the long oral history of native peoples and because of the increasingly significant role the media plays in the lives and images of people, broadcasting activities are now seen in Canada as in other

countries as an essential component of any language and cultural protection initiative.

Hon. Walter McLean,
Secretary of State.
Frobisher Bay, NWT,
June 14, 1985

We support the initiatives taken by the Federal Government to provide funding through the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program for the communications societies. We recommend that this assistance be continued and suggest that because of the significant progress being achieved, the level of funding be increased.

Hon. Nellie J. Cournoyea,
Minister of Information,
Government of the
Northwest Territories,
September, 1985

Native peoples must be provided with opportunities to use the broadcasting system to maintain and develop their unique languages and cultures. If these opportunities are not provided, there is a very real danger that these languages and cultures will be lost, and all Canadians will lose a special part of this country's cultural heritage.

Hon. George McCague,
Minister,
Ministry of Transportation and
Communications,
Government of Ontario,
May 24, 1985

I am glad to say that, in this instance, the Government of Manitoba is substantially pleased with the initiatives undertaken in the last few years by the Government of Canada and its agencies in providing broadcasting services to native communities....We support the thrust of their initiatives, but we feel that the Government must be prepared to continue expanding the programs it has initiated.

Elijah Harper,
MLA for Rupertsland,
Government of Manitoba,
September 27, 1985,
Thompson, Manitoba

We recognize that it would be impractical for the CBC to attempt broadcasting in minority languages. However, we feel that an exception should be made for Native peoples because of their special status as Canadians and because of the geographic isolation of many Native communities. We encourage the CBC to continue to expand Native language broadcasts via the Northern Service and to consider including it in other regions.

Barbara Burnaby, P.h.D.,
President,
TESL Canada (Teaching English as a Second Language Across Canada),
September 4, 1985

The CBC would first like to reconfirm its support of the federal government initiatives, expressed in the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program (NNBAP), appreciating the need to better serve the native populations of Canada.

CBC Corporate Affairs
Head Office,
May 23, 1985

Australia is now at a stage where it can benefit from the Canadian experience in a way that will not only provide models for the delivery of broadcasting and telecommunication services to remote Australia and in particular to Aboriginals, but which will enhance Australian broadcasting generally.

Any observer of the Canadian scene cannot but be impressed by the broadcasting developments that have taken place there and the way they have helped overcome the isolation of the north, an isolation deeper than that of Australia.

Report of the Task Force on
Aboriginal and Islander
Broadcasting and Communications,
Department of Aboriginal Affairs,
Australia,
August 1984